

May 12, 1966

under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to permit the state to approve grants to school districts of federal funds allocated to the state under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 beyond the present maximums permitted under that act for individual school districts for the education of children of low-income families, where the school district is in need of such additional funds and the funds are made available by the failure of other eligible school districts to apply therefor so that the more needy school districts within the state could obtain additional funds; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States and to the United States Commissioner of Education."*

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; ordered to lie on the table:

"SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 11  
RELATIVE TO COMMENDING WISHARD A. BROWN, AND JACK CRAEMER

"Whereas Wishard A. Brown has been a resident of Marin County since boyhood, graduating from San Rafael High School prior to attending College of Marin and the University of Oregon; and

"Whereas He served with distinction in the United States Army during World War II and was on the personal staffs of General Simon Bolivar Buckner, Jr., and General Joseph W. Stillwell; and

"Whereas He joined the staff of the Independent-Journal after his release from the armed forces in 1946; and

"Whereas He has been extremely active in civic affairs and has served as president of the San Rafael Chamber of Commerce and as a member of the Marin Safety Council, the Boy Scouts of America Marin Council, the National Board of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and many other boards; and

"Whereas He was honored by the Marin County Real Estate Board in 1955 as Marin County's outstanding citizen; and

"Whereas He is expected to continue the fine record of community service associated with the Brown family during the long tenure of his father, the late Roy A. Brown, as publisher of the San Rafael Independent-Journal; and

"Whereas He was named publisher of the Independent-Journal and president of California Newspapers, Inc., on March 23, 1966, the 105th anniversary of the founding of the Independent-Journal; and

"Whereas Jack Craemer joined the staff of the Independent-Journal in 1947 after working on the Turlock Daily Journal; and

"Whereas He graduated from Stanford University and worked for a time for the Holtville Tribune in Imperial County prior to entering the United States Army in which branch of the armed forces he served for five years, being discharged as a major of artillery; and

"Whereas He is immediate past president of the highly prestigious California Newspaper Publishers Association and past northern California vice chairman of Sigma Delta Chi Professional Journalism Society and serves the County of Marin on many boards and commissions; and

"Whereas He was named copublisher and editor of the Independent-Journal on March 23, 1966; now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Senate of the State of California (the Assembly thereof concurring), That the Members of the Legislature take pride in commending Wishard A. Brown and Jack Craemer for their outstanding records of achievement, and congratulate them on the occasion of their being named publisher and copublisher, respectively, of the San Rafael Independent-Journal; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby directed to transmit suitably prepared copies of this resolution to Wishard A. Brown and Jack Craemer."*

#### REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H.R. 136. An act to amend sections 1, 17a, 64a(5), 67(b), 67c, and 70c of the Bankruptcy Act, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1159); and

H.R. 3438. An act to amend the Bankruptcy Act with respect to limiting the priority and nondischargeability of taxes in bankruptcy (Rept. No. 1158).

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CURTIS (for himself and Mr. HRUSKA):

S. 3339. A bill for the relief of Peony Park, Inc., and others; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOWER:

S. 3340. A bill for the relief of Garabed Eknayan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ELLENDER (by request):

S. 3341. A bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to restrict further the use of customers' funds by commodity futures commission merchants, to authorize further the regulation of records of contracts markets, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself, Mr. CANNON, and Mr. DOMINICK):

S. 3342. A bill to require authorizations of appropriations for the Environmental Science Services Administration, Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Commerce. (See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GRUENING (for himself and Mr. BARTLETT):

S. 3343. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell lands embraced in certain terminated entries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. GRUENING when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. CASE, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. RIBICOFF, and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S. 3344. A bill to establish a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CLARK:

S. 3345. A bill for the relief of Vittorina Micol Squires; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 3346. A bill for the relief of Camille Najib Rahab; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAUSCHE:

S. 3347. A bill to make certain expenditures of the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, eligible as a local grant-in-aid for the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. LAUSCHE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BASS:

S. 3348. A bill to establish the Department of Education; to the Committee on Government Operations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Bass when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. THURMOND:

S. 3349. A bill to amend section 144 of title 28 of the United States Code concerning bias or prejudice of a judge of the court of the United States;

S. 3350. A bill to amend section 401 of title 18 of the United States Code dealing with the power of the courts of the United States to punish for contempt of its authority;

S. 3351. A bill to amend section 1651 of title 28 of the United States Code governing the issuance of writs by the courts of the United States; and

S. 3352. A bill to amend section 1292 of title 28 of the United States Code governing appellate jurisdiction of courts of appeals from interlocutory decisions of the district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON:

S.J. Res. 159. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the 1st day of June in 1966 as "Quality Control Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. NELSON when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

#### RESOLUTION

#### SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN VIETNAM

Mr. RIBICOFF submitted a resolution (S. Res. 258) relative to supervision of elections to be held in Vietnam, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. RIBICOFF, which appears under a separate heading.)

#### ANNUAL AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to require annual authorizations of appropriations for the Environmental Science Services Administration, Department of Commerce.

The Committee on Commerce has held long and elaborate hearings on the subject of weather modification. Research in weather modification is essentially indistinguishable, in many respects from research in the atmospheric sciences generally. The Environmental Science Services Administration, which includes the Weather Bureau is deeply involved in this area.

Much concern and interest has been expressed to the Committee on Commerce about the operations of ESSA. It therefore seems useful that the Committee on Commerce be given the op-

May 12, 1966

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
State House, Boston, May 6, 1966.

**RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN FAVOR OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ALCOHOLISM CENTER IN BOSTON**

Whereas President Lyndon B. Johnson in his message to the Congress of the United States on the health needs of the Nation called for the creation of a \$20 million Federal Center for research into the cause, prevention, control and treatment of alcoholism; and

Whereas Alcoholism is the major cause of mental illness in Massachusetts and the primary cause of fifty per cent of our highway death toll; and

Whereas The educational and medical resources available in the Boston area to work in conjunction with Federal authorities is unequalled anywhere in the entire country; and

Whereas The religious community in Boston and throughout Massachusetts has achieved an outstanding degree of unity of thought and action in aiding alcoholics and their families to cope with the problems of alcoholism; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to take such action as may be necessary for the establishment of the United States Public Health Service Alcoholism Center in Boston; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

House of Representatives, adopted, April 21, 1966.

WILLIAM C. MAIERS,  
Clerk.

A true copy.  
Attest:

KEVIN H. WHITE,  
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce:

**"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 14 RELATIVE TO EXPERIMENTAL FISH PROTEIN CONCENTRATE PLANTS**

"WHEREAS The development of a means for low cost production of fish protein concentrate would mean that more than a thousand million human beings, who now suffer the misery of chronic malnutrition, would have an opportunity for a better diet; and

"WHEREAS Protein deficiency diseases are the largest single source of infant mortality in the world today; and

"WHEREAS The ocean resources off California contain vast numbers of fish, other than anchovies, such as the Pacific hake, which could be used for such a program without endangering either their population or the other fish resources of the state; and

"WHEREAS Proper development of a fishery for such purpose could greatly aid the commercial fisheries of this state and be a substantial addition to the state's economic prosperity; and

"WHEREAS The Conservation and Wildlife Committee of the California Assembly has considered this matter on numerous occasions and attempted to further the development of a program to provide such a concentrate; and

"WHEREAS California has increased its expenditures in this area, including an appropriation in the budget for this year of \$92,000 from the state's General Fund for research; and

"WHEREAS Legislation has been introduced in Congress which would authorize the ex-

penditure of \$5 million for the construction of up to five experimental fish protein concentrate plants in the United States; and

"WHEREAS The earliest possible construction of such plants is essential to the development of an acceptable fish protein concentrate which can so immeasurably aid in relieving the suffering of so many persons in the world; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation at the earliest possible time to authorize construction of experimental fish protein concentrate plants; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

**"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 9 RELATIVE TO REMOVAL OF RESTRICTION ON TITLE TO MORRO BAY ROCK**

"Whereas to preserve Morro Rock as an historical site, natural landmark and public park, the Congress of the United States, prior to 1935, was requested to authorize the conveyance of said rock to the State of California; and

"Whereas the Congress of the United States, by an act approved May 28, 1935 (49 Stat. 311), authorized the Secretary of Commerce to convey Morro Rock to the State of California for public park purposes; and

"Whereas the United States did so convey Morro Rock to the State of California for public park purposes by deed dated August 17, 1935 (covering approximately 30.00 acres), executed pursuant to said act, and by deed dated September 15, 1960 (covering 0.69 acre), executed pursuant to the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949; and

"Whereas the deed dated August 17, 1935 reserved to the United States of America the right to resume ownership, possession, and control, for government purposes, of any of the property so conveyed, at any time and without the consent of the State of California; and

"Whereas the right so reserved impairs the use and management of Morro Rock by the State of California for public park purposes, and its preservation as an historical site; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested to authorize the removal of the restriction on the title to Morro Rock without monetary consideration based upon its character as an historical site and public park, qualifying it for transfer at no cost; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the President pro Tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

**"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 10 RELATIVE TO THE EAST SIDE DIVISION OF THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT**

"WHEREAS Congressman B. R. SISK has introduced H.R. 14030, Congressman HARLAN HAGEN has introduced H.R. 14031, and Congressman JOHN MOSS has introduced H.R. 14202 in the Congress of the United States to authorize the East Side Division of the Central Valley Project; and

"WHEREAS The east side division will provide a much needed supplemental water supply to portions of Kern, Tulare, Kings, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus and San Joaquin Counties; and

"WHEREAS There is presently a serious overdraft of the ground water resources of this service area which has resulted in an immediate need for supplemental water; and

"WHEREAS There are some 5,000,000 acres of land within the east side division, of which a considerable portion will require a substantial supplemental water supply; and

"WHEREAS Forty-five percent of California's agricultural production, valued at nearly two billion dollars (\$2,000,000,000), is produced in the San Joaquin Valley; and

"WHEREAS Several San Joaquin Valley counties are among the Nation's leading producers of agricultural commodities; and

"WHEREAS The initial planned development will provide 1,500,000 acre-feet annually of supplemental water, primarily for agricultural use at a price the farmer can afford; and

"WHEREAS In addition to irrigation benefits, substantial flood control, recreation, fish and wildlife, and water quality control benefits will also accrue as a result of this project and

"WHEREAS The initial supply will be made available through the operation of existing facilities of the Central Valley Project supplemented by unappropriated flows from the American Stanislaus, and Sacramento Rivers; and

"WHEREAS The proposed project will have a dramatic economic and social impact upon the affected area by increasing agricultural production and farm income in addition to providing thousands of new jobs and otherwise benefiting the area: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California supports H.R. 14030, H.R. 14031, H.R. 14202, and similar legislation to authorize the East Side Division of the Central Valley Project and urges the Congress to enact such legislation at the earliest possible time; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the United States Commissioner of Reclamation, to the Regional Director of Region 2 of the United States Bureau of Reclamation, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

**"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 12, RELATIVE TO THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965**

"WHEREAS Under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 federal funds are available to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies, including school districts, for the education of children of low-income families; and

"WHEREAS Although under such act a state is allocated the total amount of federal funds which all the local educational agencies in the state are eligible to receive, the maximum amount each local educational agency may receive is limited; and

"WHEREAS If an eligible local educational agency determines that other local educational agencies within the state are in greater need of such federal funds and does not apply for its share thereof, the state cannot reallocate those federal funds to another needy eligible local educational agency within the state beyond the permissible maximum for that local educational agency; and

"WHEREAS There are many local educational agencies in this state who are in need of funds beyond the maximum permitted

tend. Of the top 50 percent of high school graduates, 37.9 percent of the boys and 57.9 percent of the girls from families with less than \$3,000 annual income did not enroll in college.

It is interesting to note that two-thirds of the families whose heads of the household had less than 9 years schooling live in poverty; that 20 percent of the young people between ages 18 and 24 with less than 9 years of school were unemployed; that keeping a family on relief cost a minimum of \$2,500 a year; and that keeping a young person in a detention home cost \$1,800 a year, and a person in prison \$3,500 a year. This is contrasted with the average cost of \$450 a year for keeping a child in secondary school. This is not to say that this latter amount is sufficient, but the fact remains that at the present time it is the average.

Against this background of problems—and because of the efforts of the Federal Government to alleviate these problems—our involvement in the field of education has undergone one of the most rapid expansion programs of any area of government. For instance, the staff of the Office of Education increased during the fiscal year 1966 by 646 people. Appropriations for fiscal year 1965 increased over 200 percent to \$1.5 billion. In fiscal year 1966 it again increased over 200 percent to \$3.3 billion. This increase reflects both the stepped up activity in existing programs and in the inauguration of several new ones.

The Office of Education at the present time has one of the largest organizations in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. On January 1, 1966, it had 2,202 employees in four major bureaus with 21 divisions or offices, 9 other major offices, a contracts and construction service, and a national center for educational statistics, not to mention its regional offices. For this reason I feel that it is imperative that we reorganize the Office of Education and the various other offices which deal with educational programs into a new and separate department. When the increasing complexity of educational programs is viewed, and when the broader scope of these programs is considered, the urgent need to consolidate them in order to coordinate more closely all national educational efforts becomes very apparent.

At the present time, with the many different agencies which handle the educational problems, it is almost necessary that an institution of higher education, with respect to even the local boards of secondary education, employ a staff assistant specialized in contacting the Federal Government and its various agencies which handle these problems in order to be assured that full advantage is being taken of the opportunities afforded now for education at the national level.

I believe that, with the increased necessity for educational assistance at the national level, this new department should be created in the very near future. We know that even though this is the first year in which we have entered the field of secondary education, the demands will become even greater in the next few years and that secondary education will

receive an increased amount of assistance from both the Federal and the State level of government. Certainly if any political unit or any entity of government in the Nation has a responsibility in the field of education, whether it be the higher educational level or secondary level, the Federal Government has a responsibility.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill lie on the desk for 10 days for cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will lie at the desk as requested.

The bill (S. 3348) to establish the Department of Education, introduced by Mr. Bass, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF QUALITY CONTROL DAY

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution which will authorize the President to proclaim the first day in June as Quality Control Day. This date coincides with the 20th anniversary of the American Society for Quality Control.

Quality control, with its associated discipline and reliability engineering, assures the public that the products it uses are safe, sound, and durable. The society, which started with 1,000 members in 1946, now number 20,000.

The quality control man in the factory is often referred to as the customer's voice in the plant. Proof of industry's forthright intent to provide good service to the consumer is the inclusion of a quality control program in the plant.

The establishment of a Quality Control Day will reaffirm Government's commitment to the protection of the American consumer.

I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 159) to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the first day of June in 1966 as "Quality Control Day," introduced by Mr. NELSON, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### S.J. RES. 159

Whereas the quality of American civilization is dependent, in large measure, on continuing improvement in the quality of goods and services; and

Whereas the survival and success of the free world depends to a great degree on the quality and reliability of its products and services in open competition on the international market; and

Whereas quality control unites the interests of consumers and producers alike in the joint pursuit of excellence; and

Whereas there is great need to draw wider public attention to the contributions made by quality, control and reliability of sci-

tists and engineers throughout the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the first day of June in 1966 as "Quality Control Day" and inviting the Governors of the several States and mayors of the local governments of the United States to issue similar proclamations.

#### THE NEED FOR THE U.N. IN SOUTH VIETNAM'S ELECTIONS

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, last week, I called for United Nations supervision of the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam. At that time I said:

We must request that a special session of the United Nations General Assembly be called.

We should introduce in that special session a resolution requesting that United Nations observers be assigned to the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam.

And we should lend the full prestige of the United States to this effort, in the person of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I emphasized that elections would be held within areas of South Vietnam which could reasonably be secured against violence and intimidation, and where U.N. observers could gain access to assure impartiality.

It is my belief—and the belief of many others—that the elections scheduled in South Vietnam must be held. At present the United States has committed over 250,000 men and substantial resources to the struggle in Vietnam. Our Nation is helping the South Vietnamese to fight the enemy in the jungle. We are helping to bring social and economic progress to the villages. Yet, the period of recent political turmoil and bickering in South Vietnam has shown that neither an effective military effort, nor successful economic and social development efforts—the so-called "pacification" program—is possible without the direction and support of a strong and stable central government. Also, if we are ever to have fruitful negotiations, they must rest on the same solid base. In fact, no effective or permanent solution to the problems of Vietnam is possible without political stability. Political stability, in turn, can best be based on institutions that are responsive to the needs and desires of the people—institutions that can accommodate the conflicts between divergent groups within the society in Vietnam.

Last month the Buddhists demanded elections. Premier Ky promised to comply with their demands. Thus, the South Vietnamese Government has committed itself to the elective process for developing political institutions. Elections must take place. And most important, they must be honest and free.

Let us face the issue squarely when we discuss the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam. The complexity of problems—the intricacy of the web that must be disentangled in setting up the electoral machinery required for a fair election—cannot be underestimated. The difficulties to be met are immense. South Vietnam—a country at war—is torn by violence and terror. South Viet-



tively valuable on the date of the issuance of the patent.

The bill would (1) embrace entries, inadvertently allowed on withdrawn lands; (2) apply to trade and manufacturing sites, homesites and other settlement or use and occupancy claims in Alaska, and to asserted claims under such laws, but made on withdrawn lands; (3) apply to entries which are not in good standing by reason of failure to meet statutory requirements, e.g., the filing of annual proofs in desert land cases. The term "good faith" as employed in the proposed bill is not intended to be equated with the degree of compliance with statutory and regulatory requirements. No withdrawn lands would be disposed of without the consent of the governmental agency for which the land is withdrawn and subject to such terms and conditions as that agency might deem appropriate. However, no lands in national parks, national monuments, national wildlife refuges and other areas dedicated to fish and wildlife purposes, national forests, and no Indian lands would be subject to disposal under the bill.

The provisions in the bill would not require the Secretary of the Interior to sell the land, but rather would permit him to do so in appropriate circumstances. We believe that the bill would obviate consideration of individual bills, e.g., S. 394, 88th Congress, culminating in the Act of May 17, 1963 (Private Law 88-4), H.R. 2291, 88th Congress, culminating in the Act of April 26, 1963 (Private Law 88-2), and H.R. 5302, 88th Congress, culminating in the Act of August 13, 1964 (Private Law 88-281).

We believe that the appraisal of the land should not encompass any improvements which can be removed without injury to the land, whether or not such improvements under the general rules of real property would be regarded as a part of the realty.

If the improvements are not so removable, their value would be separately included in the appraisal of the land. If the entryman acquired the land pursuant to the sale, he would be afforded a deduction in the purchase price for any improvements made by him or his predecessors in interest to the extent that the value of such improvements was an element in the appraised value. If another person acquired the land, the entryman would be compensated out of the purchase price by the Government for nonremovable improvements to the extent of the appraised value of the improvements. Furthermore, where a person other than the entryman acquired the land pursuant to the sale, the entryman, with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, could remove the removable improvements or sell them to the person acquiring the land. The consent of the Secretary to such actions is deemed necessary to assure that (1) substantial injury to the land would not occur as a result of the removal of any improvements, and (2) the person acquiring the land would not be put in a position of paying both the Government and the entryman for the improvements.

In brief, where the entryman acquired the land pursuant to the sale, he would not be required to pay for the value added to the land resulting from improvements by him or his predecessors in interest. If the land is sold to anyone else, the entryman would be compensated for such improvements either by the Government or the purchaser of the land.

Our proposal requires the Secretary, 90 days before making a sale, to notify the head of the governing body of the political subdivision or other instrumentality of the State having jurisdiction over comprehensive planning and zoning in the area within which the land is located, or in the absence of any such instrumentality, the Governor of the State, in order to afford the appropriate body an opportunity to take appro-

priate land planning or zoning action to meet local planning and development needs. If no such action is taken, no conveyance of the land is to be made unless the Secretary determines that the conveyance and the provisions of the conveyance, will be reasonably consonant with local land use and development needs.

This provision is similar to section 2 of Public Law 88-608, 78 Stat. 988, an Act "To provide temporary authority for the sale of certain public lands."

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this draft bill from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. CARVER, JR.,  
Under Secretary of the Interior.

#### ELIGIBILITY AS A LOCAL GRANT-IN-AID OF CERTAIN EXPENDITURES OF THE CITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on April 28, 1966, I received a letter from the city of Cincinnati requesting that I introduce legislation to achieve the objectives set forth in the letter.

I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill in behalf of the city of Cincinnati, as requested.

I request unanimous consent that the full contents of the letter referred to above be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3347) to make certain expenditures of the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, eligible as a local grant-in-aid for the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949, introduced by Mr. LAUSCHE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The letter presented by Mr. LAUSCHE is as follows:

CITY OF CINCINNATI,  
OFFICE OF THE CITY MANAGER,  
Cincinnati, Ohio, April 28, 1966.

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LAUSCHE: In 1962, the voters of the City of Cincinnati approved a ten million dollar bond referendum for the construction of a Convention Center for the City. This Convention Center is now under construction on ground made available through the Queensgate III Urban Renewal project (Ohio R-82).

The Convention Center is strategically located in the downtown area, adjacent to the Central Business District Urban Renewal project (Ohio R-55) now in execution. The benefits derived from this Convention Center will be of great value to the revitalization of the City's Core area. If the construction costs of this facility of nearly ten million dollars could be applied as a Non-Cash Grant-In-Aid Urban Renewal credit, it would allow the City to move more quickly into the implementation of many other needed City projects.

A weekly Washington report on housing entitled, "Housing Affairs Letter" dated April 22, 1966, indicates that the subcommittee Chairman SPARKMAN has introduced four bills to credit the Huntsville Civic Arts Center, the Birmingham Civic Center, the Mobile Cultural and Convention Center and the University of Alabama Medical Center Expansion Efforts as Non-Cash Grant-In-Aid. Another bill would credit

New Haven's proposed Coliseum-Convention Center.

It would be most helpful to the Urban Renewal projects of this City if you could see fit to introduce such legislation for Cincinnati's Convention Center. Including the cost of this structure as a Non-Cash Grant-In-Aid would enable us to proceed with other needed and worthwhile projects aimed at improving other blighted areas of the City.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

W. C. WICHMAN,  
City Manager.

#### A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill which would create a U.S. Department of Education to be headed by a Secretary of Education with Cabinet level status. This measure would transfer from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and other agencies which have jurisdiction over programs of education all the agencies, functions, and programs involving education to this new Department and consolidate them under one authority.

Mr. President, the problems in the field of education are so enormous they are difficult to conceive. A few examples illustrate this. For instance, since World War II—a scant 20-year period of time—the number of colleges and universities has increased by 250 percent, from 866 to approximately 2,300. About 10 percent of these 2,300 institutions of higher learning have not met the minimum standards for accreditation. In 1955 there were approximately 2.7 million students in the fall enrollment of our accredited colleges. By 1964 this number reached almost 5 million, and it is estimated by 1970 it will have reached 7 million. The rate of increase during the last 4 years has been approximately 8 percent. In addition, the cost of attending public institutions has increased over 30 percent between 1955 and 1965 and another 20 percent increase is estimated by 1970. The cost increase for attending private institutions is even greater. Our education experts estimate a cost spiral amounting to a 50-percent increase in tuition over the next decade.

In addition, there is also the problem of the increased demand for financial assistance. Under our existing loan programs, 600 thousand students have borrowed approximately \$450 million. However, this is far from sufficient and far too many potential students have been left out. For instance in 1960, 1.1 million high school graduates were not attending college. Forty two percent of these listed financial problems as the reason for not enrolling in colleges and universities. Twenty-two percent of the students that did attend dropped out at the end of the first year and of this group 28 percent listed lack of money as the chief reason for such dropouts. In June of last year, the largest senior high school class in the history of our country graduated. The September freshman class was estimated at approximately 1.4 million students. However, many promising young people were not able to at-

nam is inexperienced in the ways of the elective process. And South Vietnam is a country where contending political and religious groups have had ample time, and ample reason, to accumulate a vast catalog of grievances against each other—grievances that have not been dissipated in the give and take of a political arena. Thus, if the elections are to succeed, it will take patience and understanding—perseverance and will—on the part of every political and religious group concerned.

One point seems clear. If the Ky government supervises elections, the results will be contested—and may well be rejected—by the other elements of the Vietnam power struggle. Buddhist-supervised elections, as Tri Quang has proposed, would be equally unacceptable to the military, the Catholics, and other groups. Pollwatchers supported by the United States alone would also be unsatisfactory.

The need for objective outside supervision of the forthcoming elections is clear. The kind of supervision required can come only from an international presence.

On many occasions I have stated my belief that every elected official, and every concerned individual citizen should analyze the issues and make every effort to contribute constructively as we search collectively for a solution to the situation in Vietnam. This is our right. This is also our obligation. It is recognized by the President of the United States who has said time and again that he welcomes suggestions and ideas concerning Vietnam.

Following my speech last Thursday, the Department of State was asked by the press to comment on my suggestion for U.N. supervision of the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam. The Department gave the following reply:

We have seen Senator Ribicoff's suggestion. As far as the United States is concerned, we have urged on many occasions that the United Nations find a way to contribute constructively to a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem. Specifically, Ambassador Goldberg has recently reaffirmed at the U.N. our interest in a United Nations role in supervising elections designed to implement the Geneva Accords. Regrettably, the Soviet Union, Hanoi and Peking have frequently opposed any United Nations participation in the solution of the Vietnam problem. This opposition has apparently led the Secretary General and many members to conclude that there is no effective role for the United Nations to play in the present circumstances. However, we are glad that Senator Ribicoff has added his voice to those who believe the U.N. can play a constructive role in Vietnam.

In my approach to the complex problems of Vietnam, I have tried to be constructive. My proposal for U.N.-supervised elections is concrete. Yet, the Department's comments on my proposal are indecisive and misleading. Let me discuss State Department's statement point by point.

I do not doubt for a moment that the United States has urged the U.N. to find a way to contribute constructively to a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam prob-

lem. In my speech last Thursday I described the President's search for peace through diplomacy—his peace offensive which reached into the Security Council of the United Nations, as well as to some 115 countries. I fully support and encourage the breadth and intensity of his efforts.

Yet, when the Department of State says that Ambassador Goldberg has reaffirmed this country's interest "in a United Nations role in supervising elections designed to implement the Geneva accords," I am admittedly puzzled and dismayed. For the elections referred to by the State Department are those in point 7 of the final declaration of the Geneva Conference. They are not the elections promised by the Ky government. They bear no relation to my proposal. Thus the elections the Department refers to are the elections that were supposed to be held in July 1956, in both North and South Vietnam, with the object of unifying the country. At the concluding plenary session of the Geneva Conference, on July 21, 1954, Walter Bedell Smith, on behalf of the U.S. Government, explained the purpose of the elections set out in the final declaration:

In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted freely.

Mr. President, the elections that I hope to see supervised by U.N. observers—the elections I discussed on the floor of the Senate—are not "elections designed to implement the Geneva accords"—though conceivably they might have some bearing on a future settlement negotiated according to the Geneva agreements. I am talking about the forthcoming elections demanded by the Buddhists, agreed to by the Ky government and expected by the entire world. Their purpose is to choose the members of an assembly that will write a constitution for the Republic of South Vietnam. I think my statement was clear. The Department of State has not only side-stepped completely the critical issue involved in my proposal—the question of U.N. supervision of the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam—but the State Department has once again muddled the waters of discussion.

In its statement, the Department further states that the Soviet Union, Hanoi, and Peking have frequently opposed participation by the United Nations in the solution of the Vietnam situation. This comment also begs the issue. Two of the three countries named—Communist China and North Vietnam—are not members of the United Nations, nor do they control any significant number of votes in the U.N. Therefore, the Department's next point—that opposition by these countries "has apparently led the Secretary General and many members to conclude that there is no effective role for the United Nations to play in the present circumstances"—simply does not follow from the earlier premise.

Mr. President, if the Department of

State believes my proposal has no merit, let it say so. If the Department wants or needs time to consider this suggestion, let the comment be made that the proposal is under study. But let us avoid the meaningless statement—the misleading phrase. The issues involved in Vietnam require that we say what we mean as clearly as we can.

And let us be clear about the elections in South Vietnam. They are vital. I believe that their failure would be a significant setback for the future of South Vietnam, the United States, and the cause of peace. And I believe that if those elections are to be free and honest, an international presence in South Vietnam is essential. So let our Government do everything in its power to obtain U.N. supervision. Let us commit our Nation to the success of the elections. The stakes have seldom been higher.

Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, a resolution urging the President to request the United Nations to send observers to the coming elections in South Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the Record.

The resolution (S. Res. 258) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas the Republic of South Vietnam is actively engaged in making preparations for elections to choose a constituent assembly in a constructive effort to bring about a more representative government, and

Whereas the United States is dedicated to the principle, in the conduct of its foreign affairs, that peoples everywhere have the right to determine their own destinies through free participation in elected governments; and

Whereas the success of the promised elections in South Vietnam will depend on the assurance that they will be free, fair, and open; and

Whereas the United States has committed its resources and the lives of its men to the cause of freedom for the South Vietnamese people; and

Whereas an objective and international presence would make a significant contribution to assuring that the promised elections in South Vietnam are free, fair, and open, and thus help substantially in bringing about political stability and the establishment of effective political institutions: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should encourage the Government of South Vietnam to seek United Nations observers for its forthcoming elections; and

That the President should call upon the United Nations to assign United Nations observers to the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, Mr. Joseph Kraft has written a perceptive series of articles in recent weeks concerning the prospects for the coming elections in South Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent to have his articles, together with editorials from the New York Times, Hartford Times, Hartford Courant, Mid-



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dietown Press, and New Britain Herald, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 4, 1966]  
INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: VIETNAMESE CRISIS—I  
(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—The most recent Vietnamese crisis brought to the surface all the complex social and political currents that the war and its drum-beaters tend to suppress. Indeed, precisely because these elements have been eclipsed in the past, their sudden outcropping now tends to catch Americans by surprise and to fill them with alarm and confusion.

But while the denouement remains in doubt, the outbreak and development of the crisis followed a logical course. They are subject to analysis, and I will offer an analysis in subsequent columns dealing with the two chief forces at work—the Buddhists and the Catholics.

First, however, I must try to describe the mosaic of Vietnamese policies. For it is a subject in which interplay is everything—a case of minority politics, a matter of action, reaction and counteraction by tiny groups. Indeed, in its basic elements, its geography, its history, its beliefs, South Vietnam is a divided country—"a huddling together," as Hazlitt once said of Shakespeare tragedy, "of fierce extremes."

Geographically, the basic division in South Vietnam is between the Center and the South. The Center, once known as Annam, is the coastal plain stretching from the 17th Parallel down the outskirts of Saigon. It happens to include—in Danang, An Khê, Camranh Bay and Nha Trang—the main American air and sea bases. It is a region of tiny parcels of relatively poor land, much subject to salination by repeated incursions of the sea. Though the population is only 3 million and though fish are plentiful, Central Vietnam cannot support itself.

The South, or Cochinchina as the French called it, includes Saigon and the delta of the Mekong River and its many mouths. The delta region is one of the great rice-producing areas of the world and Saigon its entrepot. Though the combined population amounts to perhaps 8 million people, in normal times, the South produces a large export surplus.

Historic difference tended to follow geographic lines. Central Vietnam has been the heartland of the country, the site of the imperial court, a center of Buddhist studies, and the historic seat of strong resistance both to Chinese pressure from the north and to French pressure from the south. Its elite is a traditionalist elite, looking back with nostalgia to the days of complete freedom from foreign presences and thus highly nationalistic, even xenophobic—especially in its attitude toward other regions of Vietnam that have accommodated more easily to foreign presences.

The South was a frontier province for the Center, settled late and, as usual with frontier provinces, in rather large holdings. The French invasion of the last century found easy pickings in the South, notably with the large landholders. The native elite that emerged from the process tended to be relatively well off economically, civilized in the French manner and totally divorced from the uneducated peasant masses.

Not surprisingly, differences in belief are in harmony with the geographical and historical divisions. The harsh, traditionalist xenophobia of the Center has found its purest expression in the Buddhist revival led by the famous Bonze Tri Quang. A similar Catholic attitude was reflected in the family of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, although more recently the Catholics of the Center have everted to the more self-effacing role of a heavily outnumbered minority.

Before World War II, some of the same xenophobic spirit was channeled into two parties—the Dai Viet, or Greater Vietnam Party, and the Vietnamese Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party—which still have strength in the Center.

In the South, leadership in the cities tended to fall into the hands of the French-educated local notables. The colonialist atmosphere dissolved native Catholicism, and even more Buddhism, to the point of decay. Among the peasantry they developed several revivalist groups—notably the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects. The mixture was further thickened after the Geneva conference of 1954, when hundreds of thousands of Catholic refugees and some leading Nationalist politicians fled from Communist North Vietnam and settled, mainly around Saigon.

All of these forces have been jockeying for position ever since then. While the war has tended to submerge their activities, they have made themselves felt in every change of regime, beginning with the overthrow of the Diem government in 1963. Now the political forces are out in the open. The important question over the next few months is whether they will yield chaos and a running down of the war effort or a kind of consensus that could lead to an organized settlement.

[From the Washington Post, May 6, 1966]  
INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS—II  
(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—What do the Buddhists really want?

That question is at all times being put by Americans to the militant Buddhist leader, Thich Tri Quang. A skillful politician, far above average in the capacity to develop calculated ambiguities, Tri Quang keeps returning dusty answers.

It thus becomes possible to see him either as a Communist tool or as the potential savior of his country. And therefore the questioning game continues—ad nauseam and ad infinitum.

A more pertinent question, it seems to me, is to ask who the militant Buddhists are. The answer is that they are a tiny minority with respect to size, locale, and viewpoint.

Apart from Thich Tri Quang, a gifted leader in my view, the Buddhist militants include only a few hundred veterans of protest demonstrations. They are mainly drawn from the center of the country and notably from the children of good families, often of royal blood, who attended the University of Hue.

Their viewpoint is the viewpoint of narrow, xenophobic traditionalism, which, as I have indicated, is common to the educated elite of the central region of South Vietnam.

It happened that this tiny group played a dramatic role in the anti-Catholic protests that ended in the fall of the regime of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. That (largely accidental) bit of history has combined with self-consciousness of their small numbers to define what I would call the minimum, and destructive goal of the militant Buddhists.

The minimum Buddhist goal is to prevent power from passing into the hands of any leaders who might try to reverse the events of 1963—who might, to be more specific, crush the militant Buddhists as an act of revenge for what happened to President Diem. That minimum goal has largely governed the actions of the military Buddhist leadership since 1963.

Thus when Gen. Nguyen Khanh seemed about to take dictatorial powers after the Tonkin Gulf incident of August 1964, the Buddhists went into the streets to force Khanh to rescind his declaration of one-man rule. Similarly, in May 1965, when Premier Tran Van Hough, a leading personality from

the South, moved into a position to crack down, the Buddhists again went into the streets and forced his regime from power.

More recently, the specter of Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky's using his Honolulu meeting with President Johnson to gather supreme power set in motion the latest set of Buddhist-inspired troubles. And, if the Buddhists are now prepared to settle for free elections, it is again within the perspective of their minimum objectives.

For free elections, apart from demonstrating for all the world to see that the Catholics really are a minority, would wipe the slate clean. They would be a new beginning. They would serve to normalize the political situation, to ratify the events of 1963, to prevent the purge of revenge that the Buddhists most fear.

If avoiding a purge is the minimum, destructive goal, however, the Buddhists also have a larger and more positive aim—an aim that has been broadening in the course of time. The constructive goal, as I see it, is to become the nucleus for a popular majority in South Vietnam that might, in time, serve as a means of bringing an honorable peace to this country, and perhaps, even, to all of Buddhist southeast Asia.

To this end, the tiny knot of militant Buddhist leaders has developed a gamut of techniques for reaching the rest of the population. By emphasizing dislike of Saigon and the central government, they have won over most of the army and civil service of central Vietnam. Cryptic talk of peace appeals to the war-weariness that, at times at least, afflicts almost everybody in the country. A slight dash of anti-Americanism, by confronting the rich foreigner with the poor native, does duty for the one thing the Buddhists lack most of all—a social program with appeal to the poor.

My feeling is that the Buddhists hope to combine these tactics with elections to some kind of assembly to organize a popular national majority. Once the majority is in place, they believe, I think, that they could talk to the other side and arrange a peace that would be neither victory nor defeat for either party.

For the moment, however, the Buddhists are searching for allies to form the majority. Mindful of their own tiny size, they do not seek to dominate a national assembly. My information is that Tri Quang would like to see an assembly made up of one-third Buddhists, one-third Catholics, and one-third other groups.

Already the Buddhists are working to form alliances that could lead to the majority they seek. To establish a footing in the South, they have put out lines to leading southern personalities, notably former Gen. Tran Van Don, the president of the alumni association of southern high schools comprising most of the upper middle class of Saigon and the delta.

But the big hope for the Buddhists, the key to building a majority, is that they can work with the Catholics. I will be examining that possibility in the next column in this series.

[From the Washington Post, May 9, 1966]  
INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS—III  
(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—Mention the Catholics of South Vietnam and most Americans think of people who are first, fervently anti-Communist, and only next Vietnamese. But that is not even a half-truth.

To be sure, about half of the 1½ million Catholics in South Vietnam are refugees who fled their native villages when the Communists took over North Vietnam in 1954. Most of these refugees are settled around Saigon in small, often armed, villages dominated by the local parish.

Thus cut adrift from their old moorings and isolated in present surroundings, the refugees represent a potent mass, easy to stir against any regime suspected of being willing to negotiate with the other side—the more so, since the fall of their great patron, the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. They are, in the words of one high official in the American Embassy, "like medieval fanatics." They have tended to form the popular backbone of the recent military regimes, and to be the death weapon against more moderate regimes.

But the other half of the Catholic population—the Catholics native to the southern and central regions of this country—are by no means fanatic, or even edgy. They are used to coexisting as a minority with a large Buddhist majority. Through the archbishop of Saigon, Nguyen Van Binh, they have felt the influence of the updating that has recently come to dominate attitudes in the Vatican. To some extent, Archbishop Binh has been able to take in tow the chief refugee leader, the Reverend Hoang Quynh.

The institution for this takeover by the more moderate Catholics of South Vietnam has been the liaison office of the archbishopric of Saigon. Over the last year the office has been issuing a series of communiques on political subjects.

For example, in its fourth communique put out in November of last year, the liaison office made an obvious effort to have all Catholics work to cooperate with the Buddhists. The communique said: "The office calls upon the faithful to pay very careful attention when speaking or writing on matters related to other religions, strictly avoiding any actions which might be harmful to friendly relations."

In its fifth communique, issued on January 7 of this year, the liaison office lined up with the Buddhists in supporting a compromise negotiated end to the war.

Most recently, the more moderate Catholics seem to have been working with the Buddhists against the military government of Air Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky. The most recent communique of the liaison committee, issued on April 6 said: "The most pressing problem . . . is the present political vacuum . . . . The political situation in South Vietnam is still a cold emptiness. The authorities are still unable to lay a legal foundation for the country, and they still lack the support of the people."

In short, the Catholics native to South Vietnam led by the highest authority in the local hierarchy are not far distant from the position of the militant Buddhists under bonze Thich (venerable) Tri Quang. The possibility of an alliance exists.

If such an alliance could be struck, elections could yield a coalition majority dominated by the militant Buddhists of the Center and the moderate Catholics of the South.

A government based on that majority could transform the situation here. It would at long last command the loyalties and faith of the most dynamic political forces in the country, and it could enlist these forces in support of the war effort. It could finally activate the pacification campaign which is now more than ever necessary as a supplement to American military successes.

To be sure, the Ky government, the old political parties and the undisciplined fanatics among the Catholic refugees are now at work trying to break up the prospective working alliance between Buddhist militants and moderate Catholics. These forces have produced recent anti-Buddhist demonstrations in Quang Ngai, in Dalat and in Saigon. They have inspired repeated statements emphasizing the dangers of elections.

Indeed, the election campaign is already shaping up as a struggle between the government, on the one hand, and the Buddhists on the other, for the support of the Catholics

and the local notables of Saigon and the delta region. As a matter of fact, the winning combination will probably be a coalition of the present government, the Catholic refugees and the old-fashioned notables of the South. In that case, it seems to me that the essentially political struggle in South Vietnam will have been lost.

But it also seems to me that there is a dim chance of promoting the alliance between Catholic moderates and militant Buddhists from which so much could flow. That chance depends to a large extent on what the United States does, or does not do, in the period leading up to the elections and to that subject I will devote the concluding column in this series.

[From the Washington Post, May 11, 1966]

#### INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS—IV

(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's return to the United States is happily timed. For the central theme of his consultations will have to be the coming elections in Vietnam. And on that score Washington has a huge contribution to make to American thinking here in Saigon.

Without outside help, indeed, the American mission here is almost incompetent to frame a broad approach to the elections. For one thing, the mission is preoccupied with the day-to-day not so say minute-to-minute, business of supporting the war effort.

The emphasis is on moving goods and people, arranging appointments, making telephone calls and other tedious administrative tasks. That emphasis leaves little, if any, scope for thinking big. In consequence, the American mission here has yet to develop a coherent program for dealing with the elections and their predictable problems.

Precisely because the mission is so much geared to doing business, it tends to favor people in power who can get the job done. That is how such diverse figures as the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, former Premier Nguyen Khanh, and, now, Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky all acquired virtually unconditional American support.

By the same token, the focus on getting things done puts a discount on uncertainty. But a free election is uncertainty writ large—a leap in the dark. It is thus precisely the kind of thing the American mission in Saigon does not like to think about.

Already the unease of the mission here in the presence of an election prospect has yielded two exceedingly damaging impressions.

And in large measure, Washington's work during the consultations with Ambassador Lodge should develop a means for dissipating these bad impressions.

First, there is, rightly or wrongly, a widespread impression among both Americans and Vietnamese in Saigon that the United States is opposed to free elections. This feeling at this time is exceedingly dangerous. For insofar as they believe that the United States has misgivings about elections, by so much the Vietnamese military leaders in office will be tempted to stage a coup or phony coup designed to head off the elections.

There is also a widespread impression that if the United States does accept elections, it is only in order to provide a fig-leaf of legitimacy to the present military regime. This impression is reinforced by rumors of covert American efforts to set up some political notable from Saigon or the delta region as a front for the present military leaders. It is further reinforced by rumors of American efforts to line up a majority of refugee Catholics, nationalist parties, and members of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects to support the government against the Buddhist militants under Bonze Thich Tri Quang.

The mere prevalence of these rumors, whether they are true or not, works against the American interest. For the rumors lend color to the suspicion that the United States is not in favor of a free choice in South Vietnam, that, instead, the United States only wants a regime that will continue to sponsor the war.

Even if the schemes attributed to the Americans here could be brought off, they could not yield lasting results. For the present government plus a politicized front would fence out not only the Buddhists but the whole central region of South Vietnam. And the center, which has been the source of the present trouble, would react by making even more trouble.

The true American interest, in fact, lies in the one thing the American mission here finds it most difficult to contemplate. It lies in making a leap in the dark—in fostering a process that will give free play to local political forces. And the starting point for that process can be the coming elections.

But that means unrigger elections.

It means elections which hold out the possibility of a passage of power to a new government based on an alliance of the moderate Catholics of the South and the militant Buddhists of the Center.

It means elections from which there could at least develop a meaningful political opposition.

The consultations with Ambassador Lodge can be a success only if they advance the prospect for honest elections, only if they make clear beyond any doubt the American commitment of free choice in South Vietnam.

[From the New York Times, May 10, 1966]

#### ELECTIONS IN VIETNAM

Premier Ky's announced intention of holding office for another year, despite the promise of elections this fall, reduces his chances of doing so. His own Government has felt obliged to censor this latest evidence of political ineptitude out of the Saigon press in an effort to avoid new Buddhist demonstrations. And the Buddhist leaders, who fortunately are reacting with restraint, are undoubtedly right in their judgment that the elections will determine the outcome, not Marshal Ky.

Whether the Constituent Assembly elected in the fall limits itself to the task of drafting a constitution—as the military junta desires—or pronounces itself a legislative assembly, its existence is bound to alter the political context. The Ky Government will be unable to ignore the views of a popularly elected body if the elections are fair and the Assembly is generally accepted as representative.

The real issues are whether the elections will be held on schedule and whether they can be organized in a fashion that produces a popularly accepted result. Ambassador Lodge's vaguely expressed reservations about the elections unfortunately have provided encouragement to those elements in South Vietnam which wear a Buddhist victory and want the voting postponed—through a military coup, if necessary. If the elections are called off or rigged, the damage in world opinion would be exceeded only by the destructive effect on political cohesion in Saigon itself.

Mr. Lodge's visit to Washington this week provides an opportunity for the Administration to remove any doubts about where the United States stands. An unequivocal statement is needed, but it ought to go beyond mere words. The most useful contribution would be a decision to seek international observation—and, preferably, supervision—of the entire electoral process from the current drafting of an electoral law through the campaign and the actual balloting.

Senator RABICOFF has proposed that President Johnson invite the United Nations to



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take on this task through a special session of the General Assembly. This suggestion deserves thorough discussion with Secretary General Thant and other U.N. members.

Some form of international supervision could help assure that the election results will not be contested. More important, it would set a valuable precedent for the broader elections, including the Communists, that ultimately will be needed to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict.

[From the Hartford Times, May 9, 1966]

#### TRAVESTY OR VALIDITY?

Premier Ky's expectation that he will retain power into 1967 and his evident hesitancy to commit himself to abide by the outcome of the proposed election may bring disorderly Vietnamese protests. The results hoped of the election may have been compromised.

But if the plans for it are pursued and the exercise of the popular will is to have any substantial meaning—or even an opportunity to be meaningful—more thought and preparation must be given to the election machinery.

For it would be witless to rely on the outcome of an election as a solution of South Vietnam's governmental problems when that election still has only the slightest prospect of being organized.

Senator Ribicoff's call for U.N. supervision of the election process summons sense to a hectic situation.

This is true because the prospective elections are not to be conducted under such auspices of order as govern some similar event in Connecticut. The Vietnam balloting must take place in a nation torn, terrorized and shattered by a vicious guerrilla war, a nation lacking experience with campaigning or national election procedure.

In view of those conditions, Senator Ribicoff in a major policy speech has asked that President Johnson personally lend the full prestige of the United States to a request that the UN assign observers for the Viet Nam voting.

The intention is to insure by the international presence, insofar as is possible, the validity of the election process and its outcome.

In response to Senator Ribicoff's initiative, doubt has been expressed that the UN can arrange to assist. Certainly the arrangement would be difficult to make.

Yet, without such disinterested supervision, is hard to imagine the holding of an election, much less to have confidence in its result. Without safeguards, the most extreme pressures would be employed in an attempt to make sure that this was anything except a free and open decision. The inclusiveness of the election is another point.

For example, as the Senator notes, only 20 per cent of South Viet Nam's 16 million people live in urban centers where, presumably the government alone might offer personal safety to those who went to the polls.

The masterful and perceptive analysis of the Viet Nam problem offered by Senator Ribicoff in his speech lends weight to his plea that at this decisive time, the best possible expression of the will of the people of Viet Nam be obtained.

Senator Ribicoff supports President Johnson, but he is convinced of "the powerlessness of sheer power" to effect a settlement in Viet Nam.

He asserts that our military, diplomatic and socio-economic assistance programs there are all drained down by local political instability arising from government that lacks consent as expressed by the people.

It seems to us, as it does to Senator Ribicoff, that the proposed election offers opportunity to certify Vietnamese opinion and thereby solve some of the vast uncertainty and instability that surround the United States relation with South Viet Nam.

[From the Hartford Courant]

#### TENSE PROSPECTS

South Vietnam, Premier Ky's weekend assertion that he intends to stay in power at least another year brought a swift reaction both in Saigon and Washington. In Saigon, the physical evidence of the reaction was the prompt prohibition of any domestic publication of the statement, dramatized by the blank spaces in the first pages of the newspapers.

In Washington, the news brought Secretary Rusk to the TV screen on Sunday to insist that the news stories in the American press Sunday morning were misinterpretations of what Premier Ky had actually said. On Monday, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that, while the text of the statement he had was incomplete, it had been misinterpreted to mean that the General would not step down after a civilian government was established.

What the incident did establish was evidence of the tenseness in both Saigon and Washington over the political prospects in South Vietnam. And it lends point to Senator Ribicoff's suggestion, repeated in Hartford Sunday, that the State Department seriously consider his suggestion that it call on the General Assembly of the United Nations to lend a hand in supervising the elections there next fall.

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press, May 7, 1966]

#### THE U.N. AND VIET NAM

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF's call for United Nations supervision of the forthcoming elections in Viet Nam is an inspired suggestion. It would give currency to the validity of the elections, it would involve the prestige of the U.N. in the outcome, and it would tend to stabilize the date on which the elections would be held.

As Connecticut's junior Senator put it: "The elections must be held. But let us face reality. Under the supervision of the Ky government, the results would be challenged and rejected by the other elements of the Viet Nam power struggle. Elections supervised by the Buddhists—as Tri Quang has proposed—would be equally unacceptable to the military, the Catholics and other groups. Pollwatchers supported by the United States alone would also be unsatisfactory. The tides of colonialism have long since receded, leaving a residue of strong suspicion of Western man.

"There is a clear need for objective outside supervision of the forthcoming election. That kind of supervision and that kind of objectivity can come only from an international presence.

"There is no magic method that will assure the international presence needed—we must work, and work hard toward that goal.

"First, we must request that a special session of the United Nations General Assembly be called.

"Second, we should introduce in that special session a resolution requesting that United Nations observers be assigned to the forthcoming elections in South Viet Nam.

"Third—and most important—we should lend the full prestige of the United States to this effort. I can think of no better way to present the case to the U.N. than in the person of President Lyndon B. Johnson—who has demonstrated time and again his unwavering devotion to the cause of peace.

"The elections should be held within areas which can reasonably be secured against violence and intimidation, and where the U.N. observers can gain access to assure impartiality.

"We must work toward the establishment of a strong—stable—and independent government in South Viet Nam. Let us at least recognize that the elections offer the chance to begin."

In his speech, Senator Ribicoff also pointed

out that the pacification program now stands on a tenuous base because the peasant is not really assured that he plays a role in his government. We could commit a million men in Viet Nam, he said, stamp out the Viet Cong, and still lose the war. All this is quite true, and anything that the United States can bring about to insure the credibility of the elections, both within Viet Nam and without, will contribute to a shortening of the war.

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald, May 7, 1966]

#### VIET NAM ELECTION FORMULA

Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF has fired off his second major Senate floor speech in 3 months on the subject of Viet Nam, and this message, like his first, deserves a careful hearing.

The Senator carefully traces the parallel military and political efforts to sustain South Vietnamese independence, and casts his lot with the political program as being most likely to produce the desired goal of achieving a Vietnamese society capable of governing itself and maintaining a semblance of control of the countryside.

He said, "Let me clearly state my belief: No solution to the problems of Viet Nam is possible without political stability—which must in turn be based on institutions which can accommodate the conflicts between divergent groups within the society of Viet Nam. Such institutions have developed in the West over the course of the centuries. South Viet Nam faces the incredible task of compressing the political experience of generations into several months."

To that end, Ribicoff advocates United Nations presence during the elections; and that the elections be held only in those parts of Viet Nam where there is "reasonable" assurance that balloting can be conducted without Viet Cong interference. To emphasize the importance of such U.N. supervision, Ribicoff proposes that President Johnson personally should go to the U.N. and appeal for its involvement in the elections.

In effect, Ribicoff has consolidated a major idea that is being discussed in Washington, and has put it into proper focus. The two major variants to the U.N. supervision theme which were suggested by Ribicoff—the President's appeal and the limiting of voting to "safe" areas—both make consummate good sense.

If the U.N. 115-member nation General Assembly cannot fulfill this obligation, then its value in this strife-torn world will have become so diminished as to be worthless.

#### WEATHER MODIFICATION PROGRAM—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 564

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, an amendment in the nature of a substitute for S. 2916. I previously introduced S. 2916 as a vehicle to promote discussion and as a background for the extensive hearings by the Committee on Commerce.

Those hearings have been completed. The Library of Congress has prepared a special report on the subject of weather modification which I have presented to the Senate. The Committee on Commerce, thus far, has developed extensive knowledge on the subject.

S. 2916 has served its purpose. Reflecting what our hearings have revealed and what the Library of Congress prepared, I now offer the amendment in the nature of a substitute. I ask unanimous



ress. We, in our time, will be stronger and better when we weave back more brilliantly into our own fabric of thought and heart the epic days and deeds of our forebears and of our immortal great. As someone said one hundred years ago when we pushed the frontiers of Freedom out to the Pacific and built this great country, "The cowards never started and the weak never arrived." I hope history will write a favorable verdict of us, but what we need are more strong men with convictions throughout this nation if we are going to arrive at the dawn of the coming century intact.

Remember, at the age of only one hundred ninety years, our country is the oldest and proudest symbol of liberty in the world. Forty years after our Revolution we had ejected the British a second time. Then President Monroe told everybody else, including the Russians, to keep out of the Western Hemisphere. They did.

Another forty years, and our own sad conflict ended, we had to tell the French to get out of Mexico. They did.

Another forty years and we ejected the Spanish from Cuba, and told the Germans in no uncertain terms to stay out of Venezuela. They did.

Then on twenty-year cycles, we fought two World Wars to insure our freedom and hemispheric solidarity. We did.

Now, after another twenty years, our Cuban front yard is a playground for the "dead-end kids" and termites are in the woodwork from Passamaquoddy to Panama and Patagonia. I, for one, deplore this low state of American affairs.

The threat from Cuba today exceeds the one that existed in 1962, in my opinion. The overt withdrawal by Khrushchev then, has permitted the covert installation of major offensive and defensive installations since then, according to many on-site observations and reports that cannot be disregarded but have not been denied by our Government. I cannot believe our intelligence is so poor that these claims cannot be checked. What is at San Andrés? A major underground control center? A major missile installation? Are the Soviet submarine pens at Nipe Bay completed? What is going on at the Margot Mines? Are we blind to the threat of a major Communist headquarters now operating in Cuba to create chaos and anarchy throughout our hemisphere?

Let us remember, among the interesting words of Rudyard Kipling, the following, perhaps prophetic verse:

"Fenced by your careful fathers, ringed by your leaden seas,  
Long did ye wake in quiet and long lie down at ease;  
Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,  
Ye saw that the land lay fenceless, and yet let the months go by . . .  
But ye say, 'It will mar our comfort.'  
Ye say, 'Twill 'minish our trade.'  
De ye wait for the spattered shrapnel ere ye learn how a gun is laid . . .  
For the low, red glare to southward when the raided coast-towns burn?  
(Light ye shall have on that lesson, but little time to learn)."

It is fitting, as we contemplate our serious domestic and international problems and gaze at the critical months ahead, that we appraise again our humble beginning and shore up our nobility of purpose if we are to gauge successfully the rough course down the road ahead. While I regret all the unhappiness in this world, I refuse to be brainwashed by those who seek to instill in us a feeling of guilt by association for every maladjusted and unhappy person who exists or every unfortunate incident that occurs. Let us build up pride by association instead—pride to be countrymen of leaders like Washington and Lincoln, Tom Marshall

and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Teddy Roosevelt and Douglas MacArthur, Longfellow and Will Durant, Victor Herbert and Gershwin, Edison and Henry Ford and a host of others, big and little, who lived (and a million who died) to give us the United States of America we know today.

With due regard and regret for both our past failures and our yet incomplete victories, we need apologize to no one for the causes we have advanced so greatly for the benefit of mankind. We must not lose our pride in accomplishment nor our loyalty to the ideals that made us great. The protection, the prosperity, and the progress of our country demand our fullest dedication, struggle and efforts if we are to achieve these goals.

This struggle will yet be won by the superior spirit, determination and tenacity of the victor. I hope it will be our side. If not, God knows we will deserve our fate. Greater devotion to the true spirit of America and continued expansion of the phenomenal moral and industrial power of the United States of America would be among the most reassuring signs that this country and the Free World, under God, will not fail. On this day that so symbolizes the beginning of our struggle for freedom, with the security of our country still challenged from without and threatened from within, let us pause to remember with calmness and good judgment that the nation we love will only remain the land of the free as long as it continues to be the home of the brave—and that means every dedicated American.

Thank you very much.

UN

#### DR. VAN DER KROEF'S ANALYSIS OF VIETNAM

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, our perspective with regard to the nature of the war in Vietnam is often one-sided. We are correct in understanding this war as an attempt by world communism to expand its influence and control through the tactic of movements of "national liberation." This is what Communist leaders have repeatedly told us about Vietnam, and these are the stakes we have properly understood to be involved in that country.

Yet there are two distinct revolutions occurring in Vietnam, both of which are essential if the Communists are to achieve their stated goal. One is to remove American influence from southeast Asia and destroy the established governments in that region. The other is to transform these states into Communist dictatorships, just as China and North Vietnam have been transformed into such tyrannies.

Justus M. van der Kroef, chairman of the department of political science at the University of Bridgeport and senior fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, has clarified these dual aims in a recent article in "Vietnam Perspectives."

He points out that—

This dual aim of the war in the South . . . is for Democratic Republic of Vietnam leaders not simply relevant to Vietnam alone, but is generally characteristic of all "anti-imperialist" or "national liberation" struggles now going on in the world. Le Duan, chairman of the Lao Dong Party and one of the DRV's top theoreticians, addressing a central committee session of his party in December 1963, said that the national struggle against imperialism evident in the modern world could not be separated

from the class struggle within the nations concerned; and that the wars to win national independence in Asia, Latin America, and Africa were "originally linked" to the fight for genuine "democracy" waged against domestic "feudal" and other "reactionary forces, agents of imperialism."

Many critics in this country have repeatedly stated that in their view the war in Vietnam is essentially a civil war, and the National Liberation Front is an indigenous movement seeking to achieve real national independence.

Professor van Der Kroef rejects this view, and concludes by stating that—

Seen from Hanoi, the Vietnam war aims not simply at driving American forces out, or at establishing some kind of "truly independent" government in Saigon, as one sometimes hears. DRV war aims go far beyond this and encompass, according to the pronouncements of its own leaders, a phased social and economic revolution in the South, in tandem with the North and directed toward the creation of a Communist state.

All who urge an American withdrawal should understand that were this to be done, all freedom and hope of future freedom in South Vietnam would die. A Communist tyranny would descend upon that country, free speech would end, and the slaughter of all those who dared to resist would ensue.

Since I feel that Dr. van Der Kroef's analysis is so important for all of us to understand and ponder, I wish to share it with my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent to insert it into the Record at this point.

There being no objection, Dr. van Der Kroef's analysis was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE WAR SEEN FROM HANOI

(By Justus M. van der Kroef)

(NOTE.—Professor Justus M. van der Kroef is Chairman of the Department of Political Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University.)

In recent months, various published statements by the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and of its movements by the leaders of the Democratic Liberation of South Vietnam (commonly known as the National Liberation Front, or NLF), have outlined a comprehensive and interlocking set of Communist objectives in the Vietnam war. These go much beyond the mere withdrawal of United States forces from South Vietnam, the cessation of attacks on the North, or even American recognition of the NLF as the sole bargaining representative of the South Vietnamese people. Seen from Hanoi, the Vietnam war has far-reaching domestic and international implications that must be taken into account in whatever settlement is eventually reached in the area. This article attempts an analysis of Hanoi's view of the Vietnam war as projected in Communist doctrinal terms by leaders of the DRV.

#### II

To begin with, the official United States position that North Vietnam is committing aggression against South Vietnam, that North and South are two separate states, and that the war in Vietnam is therefore not a "civil war," finds needless to say no acceptance in Hanoi. An exchange between the NLF Central Committee and the Vietnam Fatherland Front (the predecessor of the NLF) and now little more than a paper organization) on war aims, published in March 1965, affirms the essential indivisibility of the country and the war. "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one.

overly disturbed about such explosive developments because the tenets and goals of Communism are changing. This is untrue and highly dangerous.

We must indeed beware of the machinations emanating from the Pugwash conferences, the Fabian Socialists and the One Worlders. They, rather than the card-carrying Communists, constitute the major internal threat to our Republic today. I see nothing on the world scene today that would permit the relinquishment of one iota of our sovereignty or the reduction of a balanced military superiority by one jot or tittle. We should be just as assiduous in guarding our power as we are in avoiding belligerency. We must explain, again and again, that the possession of power is not synonymous with the use of force but that aggression will be dealt with firmly.

Our goal must still be to reduce or eliminate Communist imperialism as a threat to world peace by all means short of war. Some of our policies in this regard are hard to understand as we provide aid and comfort to our self-declared enemy. We even relieve internal pressures on the Russians and Chinese by feeding their people and expediting the buildup of their industrial base to compete with ours at a time when they are involved in military operations against us.

We see our Government defied by young men, indoctrinated by Communist propaganda, mutilating their draft cards and demonstrating against an established foreign policy which affects our very life's blood. Can you believe that the demonstrations against our involvement in Viet Nam, which appeared on our college campuses and around the world on the same day, were not organized and directed from some central headquarters? Where was it? In Cuba? The demonstrators, for the most part, are beardless, misguided misfits looking for an outlet for their energies.

While they are a minority, our task today is to get Communism out of our schools and to get Americanism back into them. Our traditional type of education has always sought to develop the mind and to build character, to encourage self-reliance and engender a competitive spirit that brings out the best efforts of which each is capable. The so-called progressive system submerges the individual in the group, disregards character and faith in God, and eliminates competition as a spur to initiative. If democracy is only to be the triumph of such mediocrity, God help us.

You must be aghast at the widespread efforts to declare that "God is dead."

You needn't be. The scientific atheist is more dangerous to our society than the Russian Communists or our own Fabian Socialists.

This effort to destroy the remaining shreds of ethics and morals on which our Christian civilization and the culture and progress of the modern world were built, is the most insidious challenge of our times. To claim that this universe has no Creator but developed from the hydrogen atom leaves at least one very important and fundamental question unanswered. Who created hydrogen?

Let us bow our heads in humility and shame before a Creator on whose mercy, even more than his justice, all life on this planet depends.

As General MacArthur—God bless him—said, "There is no substitute for victory." The law of life is one of struggle. All the world knows this, but in this favored segment of the world we, as a people, seem to be forgetful. With three billion people unlike even in their fingerprints, the dawn of a Utopia full of milk and honey is still only a social scientist's dream. Struggle is a cross mankind is destined to bear as long as the world exists. It will never be made of foam rubber, nor will the psychiatrist's couch ever replace it. We don't need any more tran-

quilizers to help us ignore our problems, but we do need a moral adrenalin to stimulate us to solve them courageously. The erosion of the moral integrity of Western man is too prevalent to ignore. It pervades our atmosphere like a poisonous fog. No kind of air pollution is as dangerous as this one. We are being numbed by mounting violations of our ethical, as well as our criminal, codes in official, adult and adolescent life. Our sense of individual pride and responsibility is fading in the expanding grasp of a welfare state.

After twenty years of so-called containment, there is hardly a section of the Free World's frontier that is not overtly or covertly being eroded or penetrated today. Only the torch left in Castro's hands could have lighted the fires in Panama and Guantanamo that smoulder throughout Latin America. Only our dilatory tactics in Korea fourteen years ago permitted Red China to challenge us in Southeast Asia as she does today. Unchallengeable power and determination to stop further erosion and preserve ourselves and western civilization is the priceless ingredient to any successful solution. Any weakening of our present relative nuclear deterrent or conventional military power in the face of this challenge could be devastating. Neither magic "black-boxes" nor the Oujia board of disarmament can give the solution to this struggle.

Today, change is more rapid and meaningful than in any period during the past five hundred years, at least. This situation is typified by not only the dramatic fading of the boundaries of empires, but by the ever-increasing rate of obsolescence of both commercial products and military weapons and even by ventures beyond the long-standing frontier of the atmosphere.

The explosion of science and technology has opened doors never dreamed of a few years ago. In the nuclear field as well as in space, all of us, both friend and foe are still infants. For one thing, we have no way of determining how much we don't know. More important to our security, we don't know how much our potential enemies do know, or how long it will be before—or even if—they know more than we know today. I am concerned that their 1962 tests may have provided them knowledge that seriously degrades our deterrent power today. With our vision limited to a second-strike missile system, we may be as wrong as France was in depending on their Maginot line. The blind ban on high altitude nuclear testing and on the development and testing of nuclear devices in space for deterrence and defense may have been disastrous to our nation's security as the failure to guard our freedom with continuing vigilance and courage along our far-flung earth-bound defense perimeter.

People talk—but only talk—about our nuclear defenses against enemy missiles and satellites. What nuclear defenses? We have none. We are naked. We have even offered the Russians an agreement never to build any. The Nike system—imperfect though it may be—is our best hope today but it is not in production. Had the same criteria of perfection before production been applied to our other major weapons systems or space ventures over the last decade—we would have nothing today—not even early warning. The growth potential of this basic system to defeat missiles and even satellites is our best hope for an effective nuclear defense tomorrow. Today we are the world's greatest nuclear nudist colony.

Recently, the Soviet displayed some new anti-missile missiles. They continue to make remarkable advances in space. If they are concentrating their current resources on the production and deployment of such a system, building an assault base in Cuba and placing supermegaton warheads on near-earth, orbiting, maneuverable satellites, we are facing the greatest threat that has

evolved to date. I hope we have a strategy equal to the threat. We must strive to maintain an adequate deterrent and build a defensive capability of suitable magnitude. We must push new weapons systems and counter measures.

Military procurement must be greatly expanded. I do not intend to discuss shortages publicly but even an optimist would know there are areas where no surplus or reserves exist. Troopwise, our strategic reserve is already depleted and we are assuming risks no military commander would countenance. The demands in Southeast Asia must not blind us to the dangers in our own front yard or on a second front anywhere.

From a standpoint of cost-effectiveness, Newsweek mentions a United States cost of \$375,000 per Viet Cong casualty. This is startling as we certainly aren't fighting a war of attrition. Are we using the right weapons systems? The right strategy? How about sealing off Haiphong by blocking or blockading the harbor since at least 75 percent of enemy supplies arrive by sea in both Communist and "friendly" ships? The principal logistic support comes from Russia, not China, of course. Such is peaceful co-existence, but we still ship them wheat and industrial plants.

Likewise, one of our leading columnists says we "lost the war in North Korea." That is not true. We didn't lose it. We could have won it. Instead, we let the Chinese "off the hook" and are now paying for it in Viet Nam, thirteen years later.

I rise to defend General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. His assurance that China would not intervene in Korea was based on his justified confidence that he could smother them in Manchuria if they did. He didn't know his hands were to be tied by making it a sanctuary, nor would he ever have thought that perhaps the Chinese knew this when he didn't. Now the Bay of Tonkin is their sanctuary as our Navy watches the ships go by.

Today is a time when our country faces the gravest crisis in its history. In Cuba, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America—or you name it—the fires are burning beneath the thin veneer of civilization and order we enjoy. It seems to me that unless leading citizens like you—in business—with the utmost seriousness and dedication—engage more actively in urging our Government to face the challenging problems before us, America and the whole Free World can suffer the most dire consequence. We still have a Congress that must listen. Communism, Socialism and the One World proponents of health, wealth and happiness—for all fear a fully-awakened America and their No. 1 effort is to lull us to sleep.

It is the anomaly of our times that while Cecil Rhodes failed to found an African empire, the country named for him is fighting for its freedom while some of the dynasty enriched by his scholarships here are trying to give our sovereignty away.

We must also beware of domestic policies that destroy individual, local and State identities and initiative by overcentralization of government. Brainwashing is not confined to enemy prison camps. When the distinction between patriots and traitors grows dim in the public mind, as it seems to do today, the doctrine of Marx and the techniques of Pavlov have made their imprint. Maybe Johnny can't read but I am sure you can, and the handwriting is on the wall and in the papers.

The keys to our survival are still faith—not fear; firmness—not fuzziness; courage—not complacency; patriotism—not patronage; and sacrifice—not selfishness. The clarion call to be bold, decisive, creative, and morally strong is as clear as it was to our forefathers through the long painful decades when they stood alone and fought for liberty and prog-



North and South Vietnam are of the same family... the heart cannot but suffer when the hand is cut. That the people in North Vietnam should be resolved to fulfill their duty towards their kith-and-kin in South Vietnam fully conforms to sentiment and reason." To this NLF pronouncement, the Vietnam Fatherland Front quickly responded that "Vietnam is a single territory from Lang Son to Point Ca Mau," and noted that the defense of "our Fatherland" is the sacred duty "of our 30 million-odd people," that is, of the combined populations of North and South.<sup>1</sup>

For Hanoi the paramountcy of national unity in turn requires reciprocal military assistance as between North and South. In September 1965 Nguyen Van Vinh, chairman of the DRV State Committee for Reunification, declared that "if the defense of the North is the bounden duty of our Southern compatriots, in return the support given to the South is the sacred duty of our Northern people. Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people is one." The NLF statement of March 1965 also included among its objectives the duty not only "to liberate South Vietnam," but also to "defend the North" with a view to the reunification of the fatherland.<sup>2</sup>

But the emphasis on the oneness of Vietnam and on the requirement of mutual military assistance does not mean that, from Hanoi's point of view, the nature of the struggle is exactly the same in North and South. In the North there already exists a Communist "people's democratic government," while in the South there does not. This creates significant tactical differences which DRV spokesmen, along with their appeals to unity, have stressed over and over again. Necessarily, it also influences Hanoi's view of the war. Various signed or unsigned articles in Hoc Tap, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Lao Dong (Workers) Party, the Communist Party of the DRV, have explored the implications of the "two aspects of the gigantic struggle put up by all our people," that is, "The Socialist construction carried out in the North" as opposed to "the revolutionary struggle waged by our compatriots in the South."<sup>3</sup> This difference is not simply a semantic exercise, but goes to the root of Communist theory and hence of DRV views as to the nature of the war, and the appropriate strategy and tactics for prosecuting it. Although on the one hand the struggles in North and South are considered to be "mutually complementary and must be closely coordinated," on the other hand the North is seen as having already overcome certain difficulties on the road toward Communist development while the South has

not. Therefore "the building of the North itself cannot replace the resolution of the inherent social contradictions of South Vietnam."<sup>4</sup>

As early as September 1960, the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party declared that "the revolution for the liberation of the South" involves a "solution of the two basic contradictions" existing in the South: first, the contradiction between the people of the South and the "aggressive imperialists, above all the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen;" and secondly, the contradiction between the people of the South, "especially the peasants" and "the feudal landlord class."<sup>5</sup> This means that the war from the DRV point of view must be prosecuted not only in purely military terms in order to defeat the United States and its South Vietnamese "henchmen," but also in terms of certain socio-economic reforms. Among these one of the most important is the land tenure question, which, in customary Communist jargon, stands for a whole range of problems typical of a country still presumably in a socially backward agrarian stage. The disparities between North and South, and the double aspect of the struggle in the South, have remained standard dichotomies in DRV and NLF pronouncements. At a recent scientific symposium in Peking, for example, Professor Nguyen Van Hieu, Central Committee member of the NLF, described South Vietnam as "a backward agricultural region subject to imperialist domination and at the same time semi-feudal in character. The national liberation struggle in South Vietnam is therefore closely linked with the struggle for the liberation of the peasants."<sup>6</sup>

North and South thus are considered to represent different levels of political and economic development, as generally indicated by Communist revolutionary theory today. According to such theory, for example, the "national democratic" revolution precedes the socialist revolution; the former is waged against "imperialism" and "feudalism," the latter against those class obstacles (at home and abroad) which may still resist the complete socialist transformation of state and society.<sup>7</sup> The national democratic revolution ends, according to Communist theory, with the complete dominance of the local Communist Party. As one Lao Dong Central Committee member put it during the Third Congress of the Party, "The North, completely liberated, has achieved the peoples national democratic revolution and is entering the period of transition to socialism. But the South is still under the yoke of the imperialists and feudalists," and hence the "people's revolutionary task" lies in promoting the "socialist revolution in the North, and at the same time the national peoples democratic revolution in the South."<sup>8</sup>

It may seem superfluous to emphasize the implications of this DRV position. But in

some Western quarters the operations of the Viet Cong or the NLF are occasionally viewed as if they are somehow divested of any ideological character, except for a vaguely described "nationalistic" or "anti-colonial" commitment. The fact is that for Hanoi and its Southern ancillaries, the purpose of the war is not just a matter of winning a military victory in a broadly nationalist cause. It is also a question of bringing about the complete transformation of South Vietnamese society and economy, a transformation predicated on the Communist concept of a successful "national democratic" revolution led by the Communist Party, and exemplified by the experience of the North.

This dual aim of the war in the South, it may also be noted, is for DRV leaders not simply relevant to Vietnam alone, but is generally characteristic of all "anti-imperialist" or "national liberation" struggles now going on in the world. Le Duan, chairman of the Lao Dong Party and one of the DRV's top theoreticians, addressing a Central Committee session of his Party in December 1963, said that the national struggle against imperialism evident in the modern world could not be separated from the class struggle within the nations concerned; and that the wars to win national independence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America were "originally linked" to the fight for genuine "democracy" waged against domestic "feudal" and other "reactionary forces, agents of imperialism."<sup>9</sup> It is not, moreover, a question of postponing the desired transformation of society until independence has been won. On the contrary, the "national liberation" struggle must go hand in hand with the establishment of a "democracy" free from "feudal" landlords and other bourgeois and imperialist elements. In this connection, an interview of General Vo Nguyen Giap, the victor of Dien Bien Phu and the present DRV defense minister, which was published in a recent retrospective volume on the Dien Bien Phu campaign, is instructive. Giap notes that although, as the war against the French went on, the techniques and equipment of his forces improved, the truly decisive element in bringing final victory, including the surmounting of technical difficulties, was "the political factor." Our army fought for just political objectives.<sup>10</sup> And what, Giap was asked, did this political factor consist of? The national consciousness and spirit, the general replied, and went on to explain:<sup>11</sup>

"Our revolution is in the first place a national revolution. It is also a democratic revolution. Our Party launched the agrarian reform while the war was raging. Our soldiers were mostly poor peasants. During their political studies each of them recalled how he had been exploited, oppressed by the feudal landlords \* \* \* Our men at the front received many letters from their wives, their parents, informing them of the agrarian reform then in full swing, describing their joy and enthusiasm of the seething peasant masses. Our Party ceaselessly inculcated in our troops a double consciousness: national and class consciousness."

How effective the "agrarian reform" actually was, and what degree of enthusiasm it may or may not have aroused in Giap's forces, we can pass over here; in any case, from Hanoi's point of view they are not debatable. The point, again, is that the DRV avowedly is not simply fighting a war for national independence, but simultaneously a struggle for the elimination of "feudalism" and the bourgeois henchmen of "imperialism" in South Vietnam. The "double consciousness" to which Giap refers, and

<sup>1</sup> March 22, 1965, statement of the Central Committee of the NLF, and March 27, 1965, reply by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, in Vietnam Courier (Hanoi), no. 23, April 3, 1965, pp. 5-8. In his interview with the British correspondent Felix Greene on November 24, 1965, Ho Chi Minh reportedly ridiculed the notion that North Vietnam had been committing aggression against South Vietnam, declaring that "Vietnam is one" and the "the Vietnamese people are one, children of the same fatherland." The New York Times, December 19, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Nguyen Van Vinh, "How Should the Most Correct Solution to the Vietnam Problem be Understood?", Vietnam Courier, no. 36, September 23, 1965, p. 4, and March 22, 1965, NLF statement in Vietnam Courier, no. 23, April 3, 1965, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> On The Problem of War and Peace (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964), p. 93. The citation is to an article in the January 1964 issue of Hoc Tap, which together with three other Hoc Tap articles has been reprinted in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Nguyen Chi Tanh (a Lao Dong Politburo member), Who Will Win in South Vietnam? (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963), p. 9. Originally published in the July 1963 issue of Hoc Tap.

<sup>5</sup> Third National Congress of the Vietnam Workers Party. Documents (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Nguyen Van Hieu, "Special War"—An Outgrowth of Neo-Colonialism (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965), p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> On the phase of "national democracy" in Communist revolutionary theory, see J. M. van der Kroef, "On National Democracy—Evolution of a Concept," Survey, April 1963, pp. 134-145, and "The Communist Concept of 'National Democracy,'" Studies on the Soviet Union, vol. 4 (1964), pp. 39-63.

<sup>8</sup> Third National Congress of the Vietnam Workers Party. Documents, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> Le Duan, On Some Present International Problems (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964), pp. 154-155.

<sup>10</sup> Contribution to the History of Dien Bien Phu, Vietnamese Studies (Xunhasaba, Hanoi, 1965), no. 3, p. 20. Author's italics.

with which Hanoi seeks to inculcate its fighters, is but a reflection of this whole double purpose of warfare. DRV reports, meanwhile, continue to be fulsome in their praise of the revolutionary social and economic changes now being wrought in "the liberated zones in South Vietnam" (that is, the areas under NLF or Viet Cong control), noting the "bold program of land reform," education and public health services, and the new spirit being fostered by "art ensembles" and "song and dance troupes" in "every zone, province, district or village," and so on.<sup>11</sup>

### III

The conceptual link between "national liberation" and social reform in the context of an "anti-imperialist" war cannot be separated from the theoretical acceptance of the role of violence currently voiced by DRV leaders. This is not the place to appraise the influence of the Sino-Soviet split on Hanoi, or the impact of Peking's presumably more militant approach in world affairs. But it would appear from their published statements that DRV spokesmen are wholly committed to the proposition that violence is the indispensable midwife of revolutionary change. "Ruin and mourning," an already cited Hoc Tap article asserts, "is caused by capitalism, not by us. We do not tell the people to remain with folded arms looking helplessly at these ruins," but rather "we tell them to rise up" and, if necessary, "to wage revolutionary wars against capitalism for our own salvation." Of course, in the process of such resistance "ruin and mourning" will be inevitable. But only by making such sacrifices can capitalism be eradicated.<sup>12</sup> DRV military and political leaders have generally echoed this line. According to them, the Lao Dong Party has always had a thorough grasp of the Marxist-Leninist concept of revolutionary violence and, indeed, has consistently favored the use of violence to overthrow reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements, thus "enforcing" the dictatorship of the proletariat. This tactic has been, and still is, particularly necessary in Vietnam. The Vietnamese Communist movement arose in a colonial and "semi-feudal" society whose rules drowned the masses' struggle in blood; and very early it was realized that in order to achieve their self-liberation the people would have to follow the path of armed struggle. Yet Vietnam is not a unique case in this respect. The "national liberation" struggle in other parts of Asia, and in Africa and Latin America, has been developing against a background very similar to Vietnam. Today "the U.S. imperialists" face millions of people in the world who have risen against them; and like the people of South Vietnam, the peoples of many countries realize that the "imperialist aggressors" can only be dealt with by means of popular violence.<sup>13</sup>

Within the context of Hanoi's dual war aims, this acceptance of the tactics of revolutionary violence also applies to the social and economic transformation sought by the DRV in South Vietnam itself. Just as revolutionary violence is necessary to eliminate the military resistance of the "imperialists" and their "feudal" and bourgeois henchmen, so violence may also be necessary to destroy their social and economic resistance as well. Again, "ruin and mourning" may accompany this process of destruction, but this is un-

avoidable if, as the above mentioned Hoc Tap statement indicated, the people are to "be spared forever of the ruins and mournings caused by capitalism."

### IV

The theory that violence is inescapable in the realization of revolutionary objectives at home is inseparably linked with the DRV concept of the international significance of the Vietnam war, a linkage that may now perhaps be briefly examined. At the outset, it is necessary to stress the open acknowledgment by DRV leaders of their theoretical debt to Maoism. Such ideas as the use of the peasantry as the "main force" of the revolution led by the proletariat, the reliance on rural base areas and the encirclement of cities by villages, the building of a broad "anti-feudal" national front, and the concept of protracted struggle, have all been specifically acknowledged by no less a figure than Le Duan as being of Chinese origin. "Chinese revolutionary tactics are at present exemplary tactics for many Communists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America." By means of the "creative" application of Chinese tactics, Le Duan goes on, the Vietnamese Communists have been able to guide their revolutionary cause to victory.<sup>14</sup>

Not least because of the alleged similarities in social and economic conditions among the underdeveloped countries struggling against American "imperialism," and the general applicability of them of Chinese revolutionary tactics, DRV leaders have emphasized the close identification of the Vietnam war with "the World Peoples' Front against U.S. imperialism."<sup>15</sup> In a recent memorandum castigating Washington's offer to hold unconditional discussions on the Vietnam war, Hanoi noted that the Vietnamese people were not making sacrifices simply for their own cause but "also for the freedom and independence of other peoples, and for world peace."<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the NLF avowedly conceives one of its main tasks to be to "internationalise" its struggle, that is, to make the people of South Vietnam fully aware that their national liberation struggle is part of the "common struggle" throughout the world against imperialism and in favor of "democracy, peace, and social progress." It is no small measure because of this international emphasis that NLF leaders also declare their movement to be the "genuine representative and champion of the South Vietnamese people's present basic interests and aspirations."<sup>17</sup>

Today, however, DRV spokesmen no longer think of the Vietnam war simply as a single salient in the "world people's" struggle against American imperialism, but rather as the principal testing ground of that struggle, and hence as a prime example for the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement throughout the world. Hanoi's claims in this respect are loudly supported by the Chinese Communists. Peking's defense minister, Lin Biao, in a widely noted address on China's victory over the Japanese in World War II, published early in September 1965, declared that the "struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national sal-

vation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression."<sup>18</sup> But more than a year before, General Giap had already struck a similar note. The "war for liberation" in South Vietnam, he said, was setting an example for other national liberation movements in the way in which a weak and small nation, by means of stubborn struggle, could be victorious over the American "imperialists" and their "special war" (counterguerrilla) strategy. The failure of the American "special war" effort in South Vietnam, Giap declared, "would mean that this war can be defeated anywhere in the world."<sup>19</sup>

It is difficult to assess the importance of this interpretation of the international significance of the Vietnam war. But there seems to be little doubt that it adds a dimension to Hanoi's war aims, and that this aspect of the struggle is not always taken fully into account by outside observers. To be sure, even for the DRV leaders themselves, Hanoi's self-proclaimed role as the vanguard of a world struggle against United States imperialism doubtless has considerable value simply as propaganda. Even so, one cannot altogether depreciate in this way the kind of statement made by Premier Pham Van Dong to the DRV National Assembly in mid-1964:<sup>20</sup>

"Recently when the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Republic of Guinea visited our country, the head of the Ensemble made a very significant statement: 'The successful Vietnamese revolution against colonialism has given us the determination to persistently carry out revolution in Guinea and Africa. The struggle of the Vietnamese people in the South is also our struggle, and the successes of that struggle are not only those of the Vietnamese people but also those of the Asian-African bloc and of the whole of mankind'.

"We can hear such heartfelt words in every part of Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

More than a year later Pham was still elaborating on the theme when he noted the "deep and broad sympathy and support from the peoples of the world" which the Vietnam "patriotic" struggle was now receiving, including support from various groups in the United States. The movement "for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam is closely coordinated with the struggle for democracy and peace and the struggle against racial discrimination," he said, and added that "This movement is developing."<sup>21</sup>

There is one part of the world, however, to which the Hanoi government, by virtue of its geographic location, apparently believes that its concept of the international significance of the war particularly applies. "We must see the situation in the Indochinese peninsula against the background of the general situation in Southeast Asia," Pham Van Dong has emphasized;<sup>22</sup> and, indeed, Southeast Asia has been a focus of DRV policy for a long time. The reasons are not hard to find. Throughout the region there has been a notable upsurge in Communist guerrilla and united front activity as the war in Vietnam itself has begun to intensify. In

<sup>11</sup> Vietnam Courier, no. 34, August 26, 1965, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> "On the Problem of War and Peace, op cit., p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> Major General Van Tien Dung (chief of staff, Vietnam People's Army), "On the Building of Our Revolutionary Armed Forces," Vietnam Courier, no. 16, December 17, 1964, p. 4; and Pham Van Dong (DRV prime minister), Vietnam Courier, no. 24, April 15, 1965, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Le Duan, Some Questions Concerning the International Tasks of Our Party (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964), p. 13. Originally delivered before the Ninth Plenum of the Third Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party and published in the February 1964 issue of Hoc Tap.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, the report of Pham Van Dong to the DRV National Assembly, April 1965, in Against U.S. Aggression. Main Documents of the National Assembly of the D.R.V. 3rd Legislature—2nd Session (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964), p. 73.

<sup>16</sup> Vietnam Courier, special issue, September 23, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., no. 29, June 17, 1965, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Lin Biao, Long Live the Victory of People's War! (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965), p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Vo Nguyen Giap, "The South Vietnam People Will Win" (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965), p. 70.

<sup>20</sup> Some Documents of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 3rd Legislature—1st Session, June-July 1964 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964), p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> Vietnam Courier, no. 35, September 9, 1965, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Pham Van Dong, "Vietnam Ten Years After Geneva," Vietnamese Studies (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964), no. 1, p. 55.



Laos, the Communist Pathet Lao virtually control the eastern half of the country, and afford important geographic cover for DRV infiltration into South Vietnam. In North-east Thailand, a new, Peking-backed "Thailand Patriotic Front" has launched a "national liberation" style guerrilla campaign; while in the southern part of the country, along the Thai-Malay border, there have been new attacks by remnants of the (largely Chinese Communist) guerrilla force that formerly operated in the Malayan jungles during the so-called "Emergency" of 1948-1960. In Sarawak, Communist guerrillas (also ethnically Chinese) have been engaged in a terrorist campaign against outlying settlements and police posts for some time. And in Luzon, in the Philippines, the Communist insurgency of the Huks has flared up again.

This is not the place to analyze the various causes behind all these manifestations of Communist violence in Southeast Asia, except to note the specific and strong expressions of support for them emanating from Hanoi. Thus the Pathet Lao have been assured of Hanoi's "militant solidarity," the new Thai "independence movement" has been described as "particularly welcome," and the new upsurge in the Philippines has been "hailed" as an indication that U.S. "imperialism" will be "defeated part by part and finally will meet complete failure."<sup>28</sup> While there has been no evidence of direct DRV participation in these developments, Hanoi's interest is clear. It is also obvious that a DRV victory in South Vietnam would give much encouragement to Communist elements involved in these scattered Southeast Asian insurgencies.

Thus, seen from Hanoi, the Vietnam war aims not simply at driving American forces out, or at establishing some kind of "truly independent" government in Saigon, as one sometimes hears. DRV war aims go far beyond this and encompass, according to the pronouncements of its own leaders, a phased social and economic revolution in the South, in tandem with the North and directed toward the creation of a Communist state. This revolutionary process specifically acknowledges the use of violence as central and indispensable to ultimate victory. Hanoi's war aims also include development of military and other tactics which will be applicable to Communist insurgency movements in other parts of the world. "If we can do it," Hanoi seems to be saying, "so can you." Herein lies the true significance of the Vietnam war.

#### INVESTIGATING THE INVESTIGATOR

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, a funny thing happened to a Boston, Mass., State senator on his way to investigate the use of wiretapping. His own phones were "bugged," both at his office and at his home.

State Senator Mario Umana is chairman of a special legislative commission on electronic eavesdropping. Apparently the "bug" was discovered when the senator's administrative assistant—carrying on a conversation from his office—suddenly realized that he was also listening in on the senator who was having a personal phone conversation from his own home. Some so-called wiretap "experts" are of the belief that since the crossover occurred between different

telephone exchanges, phone conversations from both the home and the office were being led into a wiretapping "plant" where the conversations were intercepted.

Mr. President, must it be that every time we pick up our daily newspaper, another wiretap episode is reported? The situation in Boston is most tragic—especially since Senator Umana is attempting to investigate the use of these electronic eavesdropping devices.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a report of this case from an article in the May 5, 1966, edition of the Boston Herald.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald,  
May 5, 1966]

SENATE HEAD OF WIRETAP PROBE DISCOVERS  
HIS PHONES BUGGED  
(By Ronald Kessler)

The State House and home telephones of a state senator investigating wiretapping are being tapped.

The charge, made by State Sen. Mario Umana, was confirmed by the top law enforcement expert on wiretapping in the state and by a high official of the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D.C.

Sen. Umana told The Herald he was making a call from his home telephone in East Boston to another telephone in East Boston April 15. At the same time his administrative assistant was talking on the senator's State House telephone to a person in West Newton.

The administrative assistant, Ernest Ratto, Jr., heard Sen. Umana talking on the same line. Ratto gave the receiver to another person in the office, Sanford A. Kowal, a lawyer, and he too heard Umana's voice.

According to the two wiretapping experts contacted by The Herald, the fact that the crossover occurred between different telephone exchanges means conversations over both the senator's State House and home telephones were being led into a wiretapping "plant" where the conversations were intercepted. The wiretap was apparently a sloppy job.

A high-ranking wiretap expert in a state law enforcement agency said, "There is no doubt in the world that his phones are being tapped." The expert said he did not want his name used because it would impair his effectiveness.

In addition, Charles Cowan, FCC chief of the Domestic Service and Facilities Division of the Common Carriers Bureau, said from his Washington office, "I don't see how the incident could have happened unless the phones were being tapped."

Senator Umana is chairman of a special legislative commission on electronic eavesdropping.

The bizarre story came to light Wednesday as other developments unfolded.

A telephone company repairman in a Boston suburb said he personally found "about 30" wiretapping devices attached to lines in the suburb in the past year.

He said the devices were of all types—transmitters, direct connectors, and recording devices attached to lines in homes.

The devices and their services are easily obtained.

Meanwhile, a reporter posing as a prospective client called three detective agencies prominently advertised in the classified telephone directory and asked if they would perform wiretapping for him in a divorce case.

#### TWO ARE WILLING

Two of the three agencies indicated they would.

One said, "Let's put it this way, it's supposed to be illegal, but come in and talk to us about it and we'll see what can be done."

A check with state and Boston police disclosed the telephone company does not report wiretaps found by telephone company employees, despite the fact that wiretapping is prohibited by state law.

The company did report two instances of wiretapping to the Federal Bureau of Investigation last year.

The information comes from J. I. Hanley, FBI special agent in charge of the New England bureau; Capt. William F. Powers, state police director of public relations, and Department Superintendent William Bradley of the Boston police.

The telephone company has maintained that wiretapping is not widespread. J. M. Gepson, vice president and chief counsel of New England Telephone and Telegraph Co., said in an interview published in the Herald April 22, that only three cases of wiretapping have been uncovered in New England in the past two years.

#### NO PRECAUTIONS

He also said, in response to questions, that no precautions are taken to prevent tapping of telephone lines used by the governor, attorney general, state police, or other state agencies and officials; that terminal boxes are not locked; routine tests to detect wiretaps are not made; no special code is used when repairmen request information to locate a subscriber's line; and it is "possible" for anyone who knows the proper telephone number to obtain such information.

Telephone lines to some law enforcement agencies in New York City are enclosed in pressurized cables so that a tap can be located immediately.

Gepson was asked where the thousands of wiretapping devices being manufactured and advertised in mail order catalogues are going. He replied, "I don't really know. Probably some of it is used in messy divorce cases and by industry to get trade secrets."

He asserted stricter laws are not needed to cope with wiretapping.

Sen. Umana (D-East Boston) said he was told six months ago by a friend who is a telephone company employee that his lines seemed to be tapped.

He made a complaint to a telephone company lobbyist, but he did not report the April 15 incident because, "It wouldn't do any good. You're not going to get the phone company to tell you your line is being tapped. The prevalent attitude in the Legislature is that legislators' lines are being tapped. You just go on that assumption, because there's nothing you can do."

Umana, a Harvard Law School graduate, has served two terms in the House and six terms in the Senate. He was assistant district attorney of Middlesex County and has a law practice in East Boston.

#### TELL OF CALL

The Herald interviewed the four parties to the telephone conversation, as well as the fifth person who was asked to listen in. Here is their story:

At about 10 a.m., April 15, Sen. Umana called from his home telephone (LO 7-3199) at 82 St. Andrew Rd., East Boston, to his brother Guy's telephone (LO 7-9884) at 92 Brooks St., East Boston.

At about the same time a constituent of Senator Umana, Luigi Vuzzo of 39 Orleans Street, East Boston, was calling from his place of employment, the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority in West Newton (969-8751), to Senator Umana's State House line (727-2564). The senator's other three lines were not in use.

As Umana's administrative assistant, Ratto, was talking to Vuzzo, both men heard Senator Umana's voice clearly but not as

<sup>28</sup> Vietnam Courier, no. 17, January 7, 1965, p. 8; no. 37, October 7, 1965, p. 7.

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distinctly as in a normal telephone connection.

Ratto summoned Kowal, counsel to the commission investigating wiretapping, and he also heard Umana. He could not speak to him. When Umana finished his conversation, Ratto and Kowal called him and told him what had happened. Umana confirmed he had just been talking on the telephone.

#### WILL CALL AGAIN

Umana said Tuesday he intends to request the telephone company and private detective agencies to appear before future hearings of the wiretapping commission. The commission has subpoena power.

At the legislative group's first hearing April 14, a New York manufacturer of wiretapping devices demonstrated the range of devices being produced.

Umana believes the manufacture and use of such devices should be strictly regulated.

Manufacture of these devices is legal under present statutes.

However, wiretapping is prohibited by the Federal Communications Act of 1934. Penalty is up to a \$10,000 fine or a year in jail, or both.

According to Gepson, no prosecution has ever been initiated in New England under this law.

Wiretapping is prohibited by State law, but it contains a loophole which permits snooping by "corporations subject to the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Utilities of the commonwealth or to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, or to employees engaged in the conduct of its business."

#### WIDE SANCTION

Wiretapping is therefore sanctioned, according to legal experts, for stock brokerage firms, gas, electric, water, telephone, telegraph, railway, bus, trolley, and trucking companies—all under the "jurisdiction" of the State DPU.

In addition, tapping is permitted for all corporations whose trucks or products cross State lines, thereby under the "jurisdiction" of the ICC. Included are department stores, manufacturing and food product firms, and newspapers.

Penalty for infraction of the law is \$1,000 or two years in jail or both.

The first prosecution under this law was completed last week. Earl E. Jaycox, 41, of 212 Davis Street, Springfield, a former telephone company employee, pleaded guilty to four counts of wiretapping.

Jaycox was given a six-month suspended sentence and a year's probation.

#### RAILROAD MERGERS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, starting in Chicago on May 4 and continuing during forthcoming weeks, the Interstate Commerce Commission is holding hearings and receiving testimony on which it will base an extremely important decision. This will be a decision that will have widespread and long-lasting effects on the Nation's heartland—the great Midwest between the Great Lakes and the Continental Divide and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. The State of South Dakota, by virtue of its location and an economy highly dependent on the preservation of a healthy railroad transportation system, has much at stake in the Commission's decision.

Now before the Commission is a positive and constructive proposal of the Chicago & North Western Railway Co. designed to create a strong competitive regional system which would bolster the

economy of the Midwest. North Western seeks to merge with the Rock Island Railroad, another basically midwestern carrier. Both lines have been historically marginal in character with more than two-thirds of the North Western and one-third of the Rock Island overlapping in five Midwestern States: Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and South Dakota. Obviously, the opportunities are numerous for the two roads to improve service to the public through elimination of duplicating facilities, increasing car supply through pooling of equipment and other efficiencies stemming from soundly conceived coordination.

By eliminating duplicate facilities which abound in these areas, the combined railroads could function more efficiently, give far better service, and provide more coordinated schedules in keeping with the requirements of modern industry. It is significant that a combination of the two roads could only result in improvement rather than an impairment of needed transportation services.

North Western serves South Dakota with almost 1,500 miles of line. South Dakota, therefore, is deeply concerned and strongly encourages any steps that will result in improving the rail service which will have a major impact on the future of the State's economy, just as it has contributed to the growth of the State in the past.

I am convinced that a North Western-Rock Island combination can only result in what is essential for the Middle West; namely, the development of healthy regional rail systems oriented to the needs of thousands of communities throughout America's heartland of which South Dakota is a part. Such regional systems as the proposed North Western-Rock Island combination would unquestionably strengthen South Dakota's economy, broaden its opportunities to market its products, and also add to its capacity to consume products from other regions.

#### DESTRUCTION BY STRIP-MINING OPERATIONS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, strip mining without adequate regulation continues to ravish the Nation's beauty and natural resources. After mining, the broken and poisoned land is often left to nurture poverty, despair, and ugliness. The profits of strip mining are large, and, comparatively, the cost of rehabilitating much of this land is minimal. About 1,750,000 acres have been damaged or destroyed by surface mining for all minerals. To satisfy the country's growing need for electricity, more and more acres will be stripped for cheap coal to fuel the many thermoelectric plants. The Federal Government has too long shirked its responsibility to guide the coal industry in applying responsible mining practices.

Recently, an article published in the New York Times magazine of March 13 came to my attention. It vividly demonstrates the need for Federal regulation of strip and surface mining operations. The article, written by Mr. Harry M. Caudill, is entitled "Para-

dise Is Stripped" and describes the appalling waste that surrounds a town in a once beautiful Kentucky valley.

#### RESOURCE DESTRUCTION BY STRIP MINING

Evidence of resource destruction by strip mining has been accumulating for many years. Mr. Caudill's article indicates that an "enlightened industry" has done very little to alleviate the situation.

In many areas, the law condones and encourages destruction of the land and real and personal property of those who occupy the surface to get at the minerals below. People are deprived of the sanctity of their homes and their means of earning a living. Let me quote two paragraphs from Mr. Caudill's article describing conditions in eastern Kentucky:

With this license to wreck, many operators have proceeded with complete abandon. They have rolled rocks through some homes and have pushed others off their foundations. Many have been demolished by avalanches from the spoil banks. In Knott County, a one-armed miner came home from a retraining program conducted as a part of the war on poverty to find his house and all its contents buried beneath a mammoth landslide.

When a group of mountaineers calling themselves The Appalachian Group to Save The Land and People visited Governor Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky last June, an 80-year-old woman told him that she had stood on the front porch of her little home and watched the bulldozers invade her family cemetery. She said, "I thought my heart would break when the coffins of my children came out of the ground and went over the hill." This situation prompted one mountaineer to comment that the coal industry digs up the dead and buries the living.

The human anguish caused by these inhumane practices is outrageous.

Mr. Caudill's description of conditions around Paradise, Muhlenberg County, Ky., depicts the typical result of strip or surface mining on a community. Last year Muhlenberg County produced 17.6 million tons of coal—more than any other county in America. The cost has been staggering. He writes:

Paradise is isolated and shrunken, huddled in an appalling waste. Thousands of acres of earth are piled high into ghastly ridges, sometimes black with coal, sometimes brown with sulphur. The streams that wind through this dead landscape are devoid of life.

This is not an isolated picture. It is repeated almost endlessly. Without rehabilitation, the future productivity of these lands is uncertain.

After the strip-mining profit taking is complete, companies move out, leaving desolation and poverty in their wake. Off-site damage also results from strip mining. Silt and sulphuric acid poison streams and destroy farmlands far downstream from the mining operation. Fish and aquatic life die; timber and crops are destroyed; the natural beauty of valleys is scarred; and residents become impoverished.

#### REHABILITATION IS FEASIBLE

Many European countries are doing a great deal to rehabilitate strip or surface mined land. Mr. Caudill reports that in England, for example, the overburden is carefully saved and then replaced when mining is complete. He writes that costs average about \$1 per ton of



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problems in a manner which is now being explored in the United States and which has been discussed in articles and by a number of newspaper columnists. This is the ombudsman system apparently first established in Sweden in 1809 and now spread to Finland, Japan, Denmark, Norway, New Zealand, and under consideration in Great Britain.

A person given the Scandinavian name of "ombudsman" has been variously defined as a "gad fly to government," "a guardian of the people's rights against abuses and malfunctions by government, its programs and officials" and as a "cutter of red tape and righter of wrongs for citizens caught in the tolls of bureaucracy." However defined, the man serving as an ombudsman (there may be more than one) has the job of representing the "little fellow" against unlawful, capricious, or other faults of his government or of government employees.

In Denmark, for example, there is only one ombudsman who is a judge of exceedingly high standing. He is independent of Parliament in the performance of his duties though the general principles governing his activities have been established by that body. It is his responsibility "to observe if persons under his jurisdiction pursue unlawful aims in their service, make arbitrary or unfair decisions, or are guilty of other faults of commission or omission. Should he become aware of defects or shortcomings in current laws or administrative provisions, he must bring them to the attention of Parliament and the minister concerned."

The ombudsman can deal with a wide variety of problems and only one (from Denmark) is mentioned here. This concerned the question of the extent to which an administrative agent had the requisite legal authority for a decision taken. The Parliamentary Commissioner (ombudsman) investigated a case where a Chief Constable had forbidden a taxi-cab owner to seek hire at a cab-stand for a month because of a dispute between the taxi-cab owner and some of his colleagues. It was found that the Chief Constable did not have the requisite legal authority for refusing the taxi owner the use of the cab stand and this ended with a compromise under which the Constable undertook to pay the cab owner damages for lost earnings.

The question is being taken seriously in the United States. The Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure under the Chairmanship of Senator Long of Missouri has been holding hearings to explore the feasibility of a U.S. version of this office. A distinguished Swedish ombudsman was the lead-off witness in March.

The need to do something is hardly debatable; the method of performing the needed functions, whether by an ombudsman system or some substitute method is not so clear. Thus the risk of merely establishing another bureau with still more redtape is real in a nation as vast as this and would bring little improvement. Possibly, the solution would be to set up a small experimental quasi-governmental organization which could receive and investigate complaints from individual citizens and make rough determinations of their validity. Those thought to be legitimate could be channeled to governmental individuals or agencies involved, to appropriate Congressional Committees, or to the public press if it were necessary to marshal public opinion on an important issue. No doubt new problems would be created and its success would depend entirely on the integrity, intelligence, vigor—and powers—of the heads of such an organization. Indeed, it seems highly uncertain that the ombudsman system in any modification could be suitably established in a nation like the United States!

On the other problem of redtape, however, which is a frequent irritant to physicians as

well as to other citizens, it might be possible to bring about improvements with relative simplicity and this might be worthy of exploration. The reduction in governmental redtape could be assigned to a small corps of government employees whose one and only function would be to suggest simplifications of operations, procedures—and governmental language. Cutting redtape in this matter would doubtless lower the cost of operating the government itself as well as lessen the irritation of the ordinary citizen. As someone remarked recently the Internal Revenue Service has been going to simplify its forms for the last twenty years; it will probably take some outside individual or agency to accomplish such a miracle.

#### ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in recent days American young people have been criticized for everything from over-exuberant spring weekends in seaside resorts, to dishonesty in taking examinations, to lack of understanding of the American commitment in the world.

Most Americans have taken little stock in such criticism. They have tended to believe that this generation was not really represented by the minority of its members who participated in such activities. Each generation must face the close scrutiny and examination of the one which precedes it, and today's generation is no exception.

It is for this reason that I feel it so important to publicize the many constructive and worthwhile activities pursued by our young people—activities which demonstrate that, in many respects, our young people understand the stakes in today's world a lot better than many who are older and presume to be wiser.

While a vociferous minority has demonstrated in opposition to the national commitment in Vietnam, and an even smaller number have championed the cause of the Communist Vietcong, the overwhelming majority of American students and young people have seen quite clearly that if aggression is not defeated it will be endlessly repeated. They have also felt the need to make it clear that the few vociferous critics do not speak for them.

One example of this comes from Wolcott High School in the town of Wolcott in my own State of Connecticut.

In a letter which I received from Robert F. Carroll, a faculty member at the school, the project initiated by Wolcott students was described in these terms:

The students in my Contemporary Issues classes organized project SAVE (Students Approve Vietnam Effort) as a direct result of President Johnson's plea to the American people throughout the country to shout and make their views heard on Vietnam \* \* \*. These students mailed out 16,433 letters and five times as many petition sheets to every public high school in the country on March 8th \* \* \*. I am pleased to announce that returns are just beginning to come in and as of today 500 schools have made returns with a total of over 100,000 signatures.

This effort gives notice that the vast body of public-spirited high school students want neither to criticize nor stand silent. They want to be heard, and to show the world that the critics do not

speak for them, that this generation of American young people understands that freedom does not come easily, and that each generation must rededicate itself to its preservation.

It gives me great personal satisfaction to know that such a national movement of support for our troops in Vietnam originated in Connecticut, and I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the details of this effort.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point information concerning the campaign started at Wolcott High School.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOLCOTT HIGH SCHOOL,  
Wolcott, Conn., March 29, 1966.

Senator THOMAS J. DODD,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DODD: We both know that Democracy is a difficult system because it places great responsibility on every individual to contribute his share and his talents to society so that it can function successfully.

Today's high school students have the capacity to understand the problems facing our great country and a sense of responsibility to tackle them. My students have taken the Vietnam problem and have decided that a minority who have protested by burning draft cards and marching on Washington have distorted the true feeling of the majority of American students and American people toward the policy of their government. They feel they have a responsibility to do something so that other nations do not get a false impression of how the majority of us feel.

The students in my Contemporary Issues classes organized project SAVE (Students Approve Vietnam Effort) as a direct result of President Johnson's plea to the American people throughout the country to "shout" and make their views heard on Vietnam. His remarks were carried on the front page of the New York Times which each one of my students subscribe to daily. These students mailed out 16,433 letters and five times as many petition sheets to every public high school in the country on March 8. These letters were addressed to the high school principal. We asked him to circulate the petition through the Social Studies department so that intelligent discussion might precede any signing by the students asked to participate.

I am pleased to announce that returns are just beginning to come in and as of today 500 schools have made returns with a total of over 100,000 signatures. We hope this is just the beginning. AP wire service carried the story twice throughout the country, many newspapers using it as front page copy. The story was also picked up by television and radio. I have a folder with over 300 letters to date from all over the country and a number from our boys in Vietnam who read about the Wolcott High project in the Stars & Stripes. Many religious and fraternal organizations have made plans to make awards to the students involved and one man from upstate New York suggested that someone submit the project for a Valley Forge award.

The students hope to deliver the results to President Johnson personally when the country-wide project is completed. I will keep you posted on the progress of project SAVE, Senator Dodd. We all hope you can be of assistance in arranging a meeting with the President.

Very sincerely yours,  
ROBERT F. CARROLL,  
Faculty Advisor to SAVE.

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The youngsters seem to see the significance of the Vietnamese conflict even better than some Members of the Congress or our so-called experts. Rather than continue, Mr. President, and I do not believe that I could begin to tell the story as movingly as Commander Plank, I ask unanimous consent that the letter I received from Commander Plank together with his story of the children's letters and art be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and story were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S.S. "HANCOCK" (CVA-19),  
FPO San Francisco, April 19, 1966.

Hon. GEORGE MURPHY,  
The U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MURPHY: I invite you, Sir, to read the enclosed short article which pertains to a group of California school children. It describes what happened when a small package of their letters and crayon drawings found their way to the aircraft carrier *Hancock*. Not only were the weary warriors of this Vietnam-engaged ship cheered and strengthened, but they were vividly reminded of our American purpose in the world.

The story is both heartwarming and of great significance, I believe. It is my hope that you will both enjoy it and in some way find it helpful in your much appreciated work on behalf of us citizens of California—my native state.

Very respectfully yours,

DAVID W. PLANK,  
Lieutenant Commander, Chaplain Corps,  
U.S. Navy, Ship's Chaplain.

VIETNAM WARRIORS CHEERED BY CHILDREN'S  
CRAYON DRAWINGS

(By Lt. Comdr. David W. Plank, Chaplain  
Corps, U.S. Navy)

This is the story of a bundle of children's drawings that were addressed and mailed to "The U.S. Navy, Vietnam." What follows could have been repeated aboard many other ships and military installations. Hence this is not a story about the Seventh Fleet Alameda-based attack aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Hancock* (CVA-19); it is about 24 grease-crayon pictures painstakingly drawn by second-grade boys and girls in Oakridge School, Sacramento, Calif.

The story necessarily begins on April 6, 1966, the day a small ordinary-looking cylindrical package arrived in the Chaplains' Office aboard *Hancock*. At the time, she was busy operating in the tropical waters of the South China Sea, catapulting Vietnam-bound planes from her flight deck, one every 26 seconds. The package which Ship's Chaplain David W. Plank found was tattered and badly scarred from its long journey. For it had been seventy days enroute—28 January was the postmark it bore. In a child's scrawled handwriting it was addressed to, "The U.S. Navy, care of Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Vietnam." It had come from "Miss Burns Second Grade, Oakridge School, Sacramento, Calif."

The Chaplain opened the package. Out tumbled 24 grease-crayon drawing, and 19 oversized letters. The pictures bore scribbled titles such as "Our Janitor In The Hospital," "My House," "This Is Me, This Is You," and "Evelyn The Clown." The letters read in part, "Thank you for fighting for our classroom and country. I hope all of you don't die," "We have sawdust in our hair," "My mother went to the hospital. Do you have a brother?" "I am praying for you. I am crying for you. Please come back."

From where had this forlorn package of pictures and letters come? Who sent it to

*Hancock*? How did it happen to arrive on board? Where had it been for seventy days? No one seemed to know or care. The Chaplain's first impulse was to simply discard them all, then write a perfunctory letter of thanks to Miss Burns.

But then came a thought. Why not give these children's expressions of concern, encouragement, and appreciation an opportunity to be heard themselves by those for whom they were intended, men of the U.S. Navy fighting in Vietnam? Mount and display them, of course. They may not be artistic masterpieces—certainly they had no commercial value. But the message they held to tell could be priceless.

Two days later, the "Miss Burns' Second Grade Class Grease-crayon Drawing Exhibit" officially opened in *Hancock's* Library when Capt. James C. Donaldson, Jr., the ship's Commanding Officer, cut with a Navy ceremonial sword the paper chain-ribbon which stretched from wall to wall in the Library "gallery." By posters and flyers, by notes on barbershop mirrors and by word of mouth; from bow to fantail, from boiler room to bridge, the word of the unusual art exhibit spread.

The men came first by ones and twos, and then by dozens. During the first week of the exhibit alone, 1,000 men, nearly one-third of *Hancock's* crew, crowded into the Library and browsed among the pictures. To add to the enjoyment, they participated in a contest to choose which they thought were the best pictures and letters. Officers and enlisted men came at lunch hour, before plane launches, after recoveries, during the coffee-break of an engine room watch; early in the morning, late at night. They toured the picture exhibit in green flight suits and red crash-crew jerseys; in sweaty T-shirts and mechanic's overalls; hardly what you would expect at an Art Exhibit. But *Hancock* is a fighting ship. And the men that make her so, work hard, hot, round-the-clock hours. These are the ways of war. The men look the part they play.

Thus during the heat of battle, the men of "*Fighting Hannah*" have been chosen-by-chance as "The U.S. Navy, Vietnam." They have paused and pondered twenty-four crayoned drawings; they have thoughtfully read the pencilled letters. Though these be the creations of children's tiny hands in far-away Sacramento, Calif., they might have been the heart's handiwork of children anywhere. Weary naval warriors rested and listened to the pure voices of seven-year-old boys and girls from home telling them of their love and prayers, their concern and gratitude. To their duties the men of *Hancock* returned with quicker pace and lighter heart. The true spirit of America had somehow touched and lifted her distant fighting sons—through the fingers of little children.

Into the midst of war, twenty-four second-grade boys and girls have unwittingly stepped to remind us of our American purpose: to strive always to obtain and preserve for them, and all children, both those living and those of generations to come, justice and equality, peace and freedom, in Vietnam, or any oppressed place upon earth, in order to make certain that children everywhere can always draw what they please, and write whom they wish.

As was said centuries ago, "A little child shall lead them."

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, May 10 was a special holiday for all of our proud people of Rumanian origin. It commemorated the day on which Rumanians, who enjoy a freedom here not known presently in their native home-

land, celebrated the achievement of Rumania's independence and the founding of its Kingdom.

The joy of all Rumanians is dimmed by the unhappy fact that their Independence Day cannot be celebrated in the homeland. It is fitting that our friends can observe this national holiday here in the United States where every individual and group have the promise of freedom. The Rumanian National Committee planned a fitting observance of the anniversary at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York City.

Independence came to Rumania on May 10, 1877; but the peace that followed the victory was a hard and bitter one. The valiant nation struggled bravely through the two World Wars, losing vast numbers of its soldiers and citizens. A free and independent government has been withheld from the patient Rumanians for 19 years.

In continuing sympathy for the Rumanian people and their lack of complete freedom on their national holiday, we renew our hope that one day their wishes for full independence will be realized.

OMBUDESMAN FOR THE UNITED  
STATES

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, recently the American Association of Medical Clinics, in an editorial in their monthly journal *Group Practice*, discussed the ombudsman system as it could help physicians in the "two major problems of the age: the time and effort required to cope with redtape and the related problem of apparently arbitrary actions or procedures emanating most notably from governmental administrative officers."

The association points out that the "need to do something is hardly debatable; the method of performing the needed functions, whether by an ombudsman system or some substitute method is not so clear."

We are in complete agreement with this statement. As I have informed my colleagues many times before, the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure intends to study all facets of the ombudsman concept as it could relate to the United States.

I ask unanimous consent to insert, at this point in the RECORD, the editorial entitled "Ombudsman for the United States." This appeared in the April 1966 issue of *Group Practice*.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OMBUDESMAN FOR THE UNITED STATES?

Physicians are becoming increasingly involved in, and conscious of, two major problems of the age: the time and effort required to cope with red tape, particularly—but not exclusively—that concerned with government and its agencies at all levels; and the related problem of apparently arbitrary actions or procedures emanating most notably from governmental administrative officers or bureaus and less frequently from the legislative branches of government.

Some of the smaller democracies have recognized and attempted to deal with such



SAVE,  
WOLCOTT HIGH SCHOOL,  
Wolcott, Conn., February 22, 1966.

DEAR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: It has always been a part of our great American heritage to speak up for causes we believe in. The Vietnam War is such a cause. It is so tragic in intensity and so overwhelming in importance that we, the senior class of Wolcott High School, have decided to organize our nation's schools to take a position in support of our American policy there.

Our campaign for signatures offers students all over America an opportunity to be heard and to rally to a cause which has as its sole purpose the guaranteed independence of South Vietnam. We don't want our government to settle for anything less. If the United States gives up on Vietnam, free Asia will give up on the United States and all Asia will be swallowed up by the communist menace.

Student demonstrators against our policy in Vietnam are in the minority. Many of them are not aware of the issues involved there. We need the help of your students to help ameliorate this false impression given Peking and Hanoi. Your cooperation in this campaign for signatures will not be forgotten by us here at Wolcott.

SAVE would appreciate your distributing several copies of the enclosed petitions to each classroom in your school to be signed by those students who support our position. This can all be done very easily and conveniently at the beginning of the school day. This can also be done through your Social Studies Department, if you find it more convenient than the method we suggested. Have the sheets returned to your office as soon as possible so that you can mail them back to our headquarters. Please address your envelope to read: SAVE, Wolcott High School, Wolcott, Conn., 06716. If there are private schools in your area, we would appreciate your notifying them of our endeavor and urging them to send in signatures of their students on facsimiles of the form we sent you.

The critical nature of the Vietnam War makes it all the more essential that we complete our projects as soon as possible so that we can notify Washington of our results. We know you will not refuse so urgent an appeal. This project has the endorsement of the Connecticut Association of Secondary School Principals.

Very sincerely yours,

RONALD BERTOTHY,  
SAVE Chairman.  
MR. ROBERT F. CARROLL,  
Faculty Sponsor.

SAVE STUDENTS APPROVE VIETNAM EFFORT  
School.....  
City.....  
State.....

We, the undersigned, wish to express our support of the United States policy in Vietnam. As we understand this policy we are in Vietnam at the request of the South Vietnamese government to help them stop communist intervention. We are not there to impose our system because every nation should have the right to choose the system of government that best fits its needs. We are in Vietnam to protect this right; the communist are there to destroy it. We are not there to impose American colonialism; we are there to oppose communist colonialism.

We are seriously disturbed by the small minority of students demonstrating against our policy in Vietnam and even advocating the tearing up of draft cards. Their tactics have led to highly exaggerated estimates of their numbers. Because these tactics may lead Peking and Hanoi to seriously underestimate American commitment we, the

students of America, have decided to speak up.

[Signatures.]

Mail returns to: SAVE, Wolcott High School, Wolcott, Conn., 06716.

#### SAVE PETITIONS HIGHLY PRAISED (By Greg Chilson)

WOLCOTT.—"God help you, keep it up," the Army colonel wrote from Fort Worth, Texas.

The Marine in Da Nang wrote that he read about SAVE in the Pacific Stars and Stripes and "It is one of the things that can make any of us over here extremely proud of serving our country."

"You may be interested to know that the first signer is the daughter of a soldier in Viet Nam," wrote the principal of the high school in Hollidaysburg, Pa.

These are some of the responses pouring into Robert Carroll's contemporary issues class at the high school here, which is trying to get millions of students to sign petitions backing U.S. efforts in Viet Nam.

SAVE is the name of the project, "Students Approve Viet Nam Efforts," and the class plans to take the signed petitions to President Johnson as a counter to the draft-card burnings and other protests about American efforts.

"They're coming in now," said Carroll. "We've got them back from 190 schools in 34 states and the District of Columbia. People are sending in newspaper articles and a lot of other things."

These other things included an editorial cartoon from the York, Pa., Tribune. It showed a student shouting "Support America's Viet Nam Efforts" through a megaphone bearing Wolcott High School's name.

There were clippings from across the country, newspapers in Alabama, Detroit, Oregon. From Oregon there was also an interesting letter.

"Congratulations to you and the senior class," said a woman from Forest Grove, Ore. "It's kids like that who make this country worth fighting for. I have just clipped the article out of the evening paper to send on to my husband in Viet Nam. He has been there since 1963 and has become, very disgusted with all the student demonstrations in this country. Although I campaigned for Senator Morse, I want you to know that he isn't speaking for the people of Oregon and we are very ashamed of him and Governor Hatfield."

From Detroit came a song written by a music publisher who said all royalties from it would be sent to the Wolcott class.

"Although the number of signatures are few," said a letter from Girard, Tex., public schools, "it represents 100 per cent of our high school students \* \* \* We are a rural community and have very strong patriotic feelings toward our country." There were 40 names.

The principal of Cherokee High School in Canton, Ga., wrote that names of his students have already been turned in to President Johnson after a rally at Atlanta, and any additional petitions would be duplication but "we wish you every success."

The principal of the Houston, Minn., high school wrote that the school policy "does not permit distribution" of petitions but "the number of I'm behind the boys in Viet Nam buttons I see on our students shows they are behind you wholeheartedly."

Signed petitions from Mackay, Idaho, were received one day and the next day came a letter from two girl students. "We were not available when your petitions were passed around. We would like to add our names to the list."

Patapsco Senior High School in Baltimore wrote that students made duplicates of the petition forms so every homeroom in the

school could have one to sign. They even went a step further and elected one student as SAVE chairman for the school.

Ink smeared on one of the printed petitions, which were mailed to 17,500 high schools across the country, and the principal of the Stony Point High School in North Carolina wrote: "Would you be kind enough to send us a legible copy of your petitions. I feel that the Stony Point students will react favorably if they have materials they can read."

"This Midwest is radical against demonstrations, and boy did they let me know how they felt," wrote a social science teacher from Warsaw, Ill. "All but one student was willing to sign."

There were some opposing letters, too, Carroll noted. Most contended the students saw only one side of the Viet Nam picture. A Waterbury man said he'd like to obtain a speaker to tell the class the "other side" of the story. A Naugatuck writer sent a five-page letter of opposition. A principal in Hawthorne, N.Y., sent back the petitions saying the project "is not in the service of educating students."

A packet of religious tracts came from a woman in Millersville, Pa., urging the students to read them "for in so doing thou shalt SAVE both thyself and them that hear thee."

"Dear Nut" started another letter, criticizing Carroll and the class for its project.

Carroll said some 700 out of about 760 Wolcott High School students have signed petitions, but none have yet come in from other Connecticut schools. He said the class isn't discouraged because someone found out that schools are holding back the petitions to give all students a chance to sign them and others are duplicating the forms.

Many school officials from this and other states called or wrote Principal Nicholas D'Agostino, asking if the project had the school's official approval and adding that if so, they'd send in the petitions.

There were petitions back from Senator Morse's Oregon but none yet from Arkansas, which is represented by another critic of the Viet Nam policy, Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT.

#### ADDRESS BY HAROLD F. LINDER, PRESIDENT, EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON, TO BANKERS' ASSOCIATION FOR FOREIGN TRADE

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on April 26, Mr. Harold F. Linder, President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of Washington made an important speech at the annual meeting of the Bankers' Association for Foreign Trade at Boca Raton, Fla. I believe it to be of interest to the Senate and to the public to see this speech and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HAROLD F. LINDER, PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, BANKERS' ASSOCIATION FOR FOREIGN TRADE, BOCA RATON, FLA., APRIL 26, 1966

It is a great pleasure for me and my colleagues at the Export-Import Bank to be at your meeting, to see and talk with so many people whose interests and occupations closely parallel our own. I know of no organization whose members are more intimately concerned with the daily business of Eximbank than this one. And therefore I

value this opportunity to share with you my thoughts on the proper relation of our bank to your member banks, to our exporters, to our nation, to our borrowers and their governments abroad, and to our foreign exporting competitors.

Let me say also that, on the advice of your President and Vice President, I am assuming that most of you already are familiar with our basic operations in long term loans for capital equipment and our emergency foreign trade loans. Thus I will confine myself to those activities of our business which concern you and us in our day-to-day relations.

As I look back over the past 5 years during which I have served the Export-Import Bank, I am reminded how much it has changed—how far the Bank has traveled toward a close partnership with the commercial banking community in bringing financial assistance to exporters. The first guarantee under our present commercial bank program was authorized on April 18, 1961, just about two and a half months after I appeared on the scene. We have since issued over \$1,300 million of these and other commercial bank guarantees.

Before 1961, commercial banks had issued letters of credit under Eximbank direct loans; we had occasionally guaranteed an export credit extended by a commercial bank; we had experimented with a commercial bank participation program; and we had occasionally sold nonrecourse participations to commercial banks in the near maturities of our better loans.

But there was no continuing, large-scale involvement of commercial banks in the daily business of Eximbank such as we take for granted today—an involvement which extends beyond the bank guarantee program to the protection of your credits under assignments of the proceeds of Foreign Credit Insurance Association policies. In turn, commercial banks have purchased, with the right to sub-participate to others, more than \$1,700 million of participations in our Eximbank Portfolio Funds.

This widening partnership has benefitted both of us. It has enabled us to increase our commitments by more than a billion dollars, while simultaneously reducing very substantially our drawings from the Treasury. It has brought more banks into export financing—one of our genuine even though intangible profits. To the commercial banks, our guarantee and insurance programs have brought added security. More importantly, they have made possible new business which would not have been done without our cover. Our Portfolio Fund sales have provided you and your subparticipants with a sound investment at an attractive return.

I can assure you that whenever we are convinced that by enlarging this partnership we can serve better our mutual goals of faster and more adequate financial assistance for sound export transactions, which will increase export receipts, we shall do so—and promptly.

This leads me to what I really want to talk about today—not the past, but the future. What would most interest you, I believe, is the current thinking of Eximbank's management on some of those proposals for changing export financing practices and facilities which are actively debated today.

The topics most frequently raised in comments or articles on our activities are, broadly stated, these:

First, whether we are overly conservative in our interpretation of the "reasonable assurance of repayment" requirement of our statute;

Second, whether a so-called National Interest fund should be established in Eximbank to finance transactions which even on a liberal interpretation do not offer "reasonable assurance of repayment";

Third, whether we should establish some sort of rediscount facility for export paper;

Fourth, whether Eximbank should greatly broaden its guarantees to commercial banks and, correspondingly, cut back its own direct lending activities; and

Finally, whether our existing programs should be made more liberal, especially in respect of fees, coverage, discretionary authority, advance commitments, and the like.

Most fundamental is this question: Does Eximbank's view of when to say "yes" and when to say "no" in the marginal case best serve our present national needs? The answer depends on what those needs are. Is the overriding need today the promotion of exports, purely and simply—exports for their own sake—regardless of the risk of non-payment, regardless of what may be the terms? Or is the need that of expanding existing markets and developing new ones wherever there is a reasonable prospect that our debtors will be able to meet their obligations?

As we bankers know, the present national need, and the need you and we both serve, is the promotion of export receipts, not just exports. In today's plethora of slogans, it is sometimes easy to forget that increasing our exports is a means to an end—not an end in itself.

The true significance of exports, whether to stimulate the domestic economy or to contribute to our balance of payments, lies not in the departure of goods or services from our shores. It lies in the payments we receive for the exports. True, if Eximbank makes the payment or issues its guarantee of payment to the exporter, the domestic economy will be stimulated—even if the foreign purchaser has to postpone, or even fails to meet his obligation. But you will be the first to recognize that domestic stimulation is not what our economy needs today. The need is for credits to our balance of payments. And our financing of exports helps the balance of payments only when the foreign purchaser discharges his debt by paying dollars to this country.

Thus the interests of our nation are best served by the promotion—not of exports for exports' sake—but of exports for which we can reasonably expect to receive payment as promptly as possible from the foreign purchaser.

I suggest that the proper role of the Bank is therefore to stimulate the domestic economy when this is appropriate, but without subsidy, and at all times—particularly today—to aid our balance of payments by increasing receipts from export sales.

These are among the most important of our guidelines—the standards against which Eximbank's performance should be judged. And we try conscientiously to operate at the outer limits of these guidelines.

I do not imply that those who say that Eximbank is overly conservative use another standard. Our differences frequently come down to nothing more than differing judgments as to how short-run and long-run interests can best be balanced. The manufacturer who argues that to protect our markets we must maintain the flow of exports to a country in severe balance-of-payments difficulties, or who seeks assistance in penetrating new but risky markets, can always claim to have in mind the long-run interests of both our economy and our balance of payments. Should he be sufficiently objective he may even recognize that repayment for his sales may be highly doubtful—but if this be so I suggest that he does not recognize nor give sufficient weight to the seriousness of our country's present payments problem.

Is there any yardstick against which to measure whether Eximbank is in fact too conservative in its case-by-case decisions? I fear not. This is a matter of judgment,

and into that judgment go a substantial number of considerations—political, economic, financial—which some of our critics cannot be expected to weigh or possibly even consider. Yet a reasonably dispassionate look at the contentions of some of our friends and critics may be instructive.

The proposition most frequently cited is the generalized statement that the United States is losing export sales because Eximbank will not offer credit support as liberal as that made available by other governments.

If this is true to any significant extent, we at Eximbank have been hard put to find evidence to support it. Our conviction is that the export credit facilities offered by Eximbank and other U.S. Government agencies are superior to those of any other country. We at Eximbank try to make it clear that we will consider meeting any foreign government's support for its commercial exports. If we are failing to do so in any significant number of specific cases, we would like nothing better than to know of it.

When we are confronted with the generalization that we fail in this regard, we ask that cases be documented. And then we are often met with a strange reticence on the part of our exporting friends—and, yes, sometimes our banking friends as well. Please believe me, we want to know about that export sale which may be lost because our terms, our procedures, or our requirements are deemed deficient. The Bank cannot weigh and judge the complaints unless it has the relevant facts.

To obtain these facts, we have established a group within the Bank to hear and assess complaints. Harry Rowntree, our Executive Vice President, is in charge. I would consider it a personal favor if you would give him in writing now or in the future the details of any cases of which you have direct knowledge, whether it is clear that an export was lost just because a competing foreign exporter had better financial support from his government.

As I have said on other occasions, we do not deny that U.S. exporters may from time to time lose sales which foreign exporters may win with their government's support, just as our exporters win some sales with our help.

In a competitive world no country, regardless of its credit facilities, can expect to get all of the business all of the time. For years the United States Government has sought to persuade other industrialized nations to assume a greater share of the aid burden to developing countries. As you know, practically all such aid is "tied"; that is, it is made available through the sale on long terms of goods and services originating in the lending country. This of course means that the United States cannot at the same time expect greater participation by other industrialized countries and not expect them to take a share of the business.

We also hear that Eximbank must be too conservative because it has earnings, pays dividends to the Treasury, and has accumulated a reserve of a billion dollars. It is of course an insufficient answer merely to quote our statute: "Net earnings of the Bank after reasonable provision for possible losses shall be used for payment of dividends on capital stock. The real issue is whether our present 'provision for possible losses'—our accumulated reserves—has passed the reasonable level.

Again, this is a matter of judgment. As the Chairman of one of the Congressional Committees is fond of reminding me, we will never really know the adequacy of our reserves until the Bank is liquidated. But some figures may be helpful.

As of this time the Bank has total commitments of over \$6½ billion—some \$2,200 million in so-called C and D markets, the

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is not always exactly what is right for the world, or for Vietnam's smallest hamlet.

The unfavorable has always been reported along with the favorable—but television tells it with greater impact. When the U.S. blunders, television leaves little doubt.

So when a government official, either in Saigon or Washington, denies what television plainly reports and then attempts to give verisimilitude to his denial by damning the reporter—at best that is pure humbug.

The war in Vietnam has become almost entirely an American responsibility. And responsible American officials must accept it. For the most part they have. But there have been glaring examples of miscalculation and a few examples of downright lying. The miscalculations have been reported, the lies have been found out. And it is that kind of honest reporting that in the end measures the rightness of our cause in Vietnam or anywhere else.

### REVOLT AGAINST FREEMAN

(Mr. NELSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to include a newspaper article.)

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, we apparently no longer have a Secretary of Agriculture. We should have suspected as much when the 1966 Agriculture Yearbook was entitled "Consumers All." The farmers of America realize that they are a minority, comprising only 7 percent of the population. But they still are entitled to representation in our Government. It is now evident that the Department of Agriculture is headed by the Secretary for Consumers Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the Washington Post of May 12, 1966, entitled "Revolt Against Freeman":

#### REVOLT AGAINST FREEMAN

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The political revolt against Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman got so overheated last week that he called a secret breakfast meeting in his office with eight Democratic Senators.

Whether it was the Secretary's ham and eggs, or his promises to do better next time, the Senators left the breakfast table momentarily mollified. But they are far from happy.

What angered the Democrats, all of them Westerners and four of them up for re-election next fall, is the fact that under the persistent prodding of President Johnson, Freeman has been making statements that seem to blame the farmer for the rising cost of living.

For example, on April 1, the Secretary said in a speech that he was "pleased" that hog prices had fallen from their peak. The effect of those words in the farm belt was dynamite. They put Freeman in the position of advocating a decline in farm income.

But more than words causes Freeman's trouble. Under orders from the President, he has released wheat and feed corn from Government storage for sale at less than market prices, an action that had the immediate effect of depressing the price of farmer-sold wheat and corn. This infuriated wheat and corn growers.

Then the Commerce Department slapped a ban on the export of rawhide, ostensibly to keep the price of shoes from going up. The farmer did not like being blamed for the high price of shoes.

The Commerce Department also opened the door to imports of cheddar cheese from

Canada, which, coming on the heels of Mr. Johnson's cutback in the school milk program, enraged the dairymen.

Accordingly, the eight Democratic farm-bloc Senators complained to Freeman that his excellent reputation was falling to the level of Ezra Taft Benson's in the Eisenhower Administration—the most hated Secretary of Agriculture in this century. One of the eight, Sen. LES METCALF of Montana, told Freeman that his re-election next fall hinges on the Administration's changing its image in the farm belt.

METCALF told Freeman that his slender 4,000-vote margin in 1960 was a direct result of his breakthrough among normally Republican wheat growers. Today, he said, he would not come close to getting that vote.

The Democratic Senators warned Freeman that if he did not explain the political facts of life in the farm belt to President Johnson, they would make a trip to the White House themselves and do it.

They told him he must get the President's permission to make political war on the Budget Bureau, the Council of Economic Advisers and other arms of the Administration that are blaming inflation on the farmers. They warned Freeman against any more presidential suggestions that housewives buy the "cheaper cuts" of meat, not the choice cuts, in order to help the campaign against inflation.

Finally, they told Freeman that although he personally was not the cause of all the growing resentment against the Administration, he was getting the blame and had better speak up for the farmers' point of view or face demands for his resignation. The breakfast meeting was the roughest and frankest Freeman has had in his five years as Secretary.

The fact is that Freeman is caught in a classic cross-haul. To appease the labor unions and the important voting blocs in the big cities, the Administration has singled out the farmer as the biggest culprit in the rise of the cost of living. Good citizen Freeman, playing like a member of the team, has been willing to go along with the President at the sacrifice of his own constituency, the farmers.

But no longer. As a direct result of last week's lecture he persuaded the President to expand the wheat acreage allotment by 7.7 million acres for 1967. Freeman is now out to show that he still loves the farmer.

There is just one trouble: farm-bloc Democrats are fearful it may be too late.

### NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE BACK-DOOR AID RECEIVED BY VIETCONG FROM CAMBODIA

(Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include an article.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, last week, on Wednesday, May 4, and Thursday, May 5, I sought to bring to the attention of my colleagues the nature and extent of the back-door aid that the Vietcong derives from Cambodia and, directly or indirectly, from free world ships sailing up the Mekong River through South Vietnam to the Cambodian port of Phnompenh. That the fallacy of Cambodian neutrality is becoming a critical problem is confirmed by a report appearing in this week's issue—May 16, 1966—of U.S. News & World Report which states in part:

The U.S. has firm evidence that three regiments of North Vietnamese regulars are now based inside Cambodia, in addition to thousands of Viet Cong guerrillas and main-line forces. All are at base camps that serve as springboards into South Vietnam.

This aid is now an open secret. We can no longer officially pretend that it does not exist. The time is overdue for the administration to urge the Government of South Vietnam to close this back door of supply for the Vietcong. I say the Mekong River should be closed to Cambodian-bound traffic both as a direct means to cut the flow of contraband to the Vietcong and as a weapon of economic pressure to encourage Cambodia to adhere to its alleged policy of neutrality. I include the article entitled "As War Spreads Into 'Neutral' Cambodia" at this point in the RECORD:

#### AS WAR SPREADS INTO "NEUTRAL" CAMBODIA

SAIGON.—War in South Vietnam has now spilled over into neighboring Cambodia—openly and officially.

On May 3, the U.S. high command disclosed that American artillerymen, in a battle three days earlier, fired into Cambodia to silence Viet Cong guns.

"Hot pursuit" orders: This was the first official report of such an attack, although some months ago U.S. officers were given authorization to fire onto Cambodian soil in the heat of battle or even undertake "hot pursuit" of Red troops using it as a sanctuary.

Another official disclosure—this one about the semisecret air war over Laos—also was made on May 3. The Defense Department announced that 11 U.S. airmen have been killed and "less than 20" are missing as a result of two years of operations against the Ho Chi Minh Trail leading from North Vietnam.

The big question was: Will war now keep spreading in these two small nearby countries?

The answer on Laos seemed set—a firm no. President Johnson earlier this year ruled out any ground action against Red routes in Laos, largely out of respect for friendly Laotian rulers. Cambodia is another story. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the country's royal dictator, has broken diplomatic relations with the U.S. and advertises himself as a close friend of Red China.

The U.S. has firm evidence that three regiments of North Vietnamese regulars are now based inside Cambodia, in addition to thousands of Viet Cong guerrillas and main-line forces. All are at base camps that serve as springboards into South Vietnam.

How supplies move: The Reds are said to be supplied frequently by Cambodian merchants or, in the case of rice, directly by the Cambodian Government. A Cambodian supply route, called the "Sihanouk Road" by Americans, has been developed to ship supplies from Cambodia into South Vietnam.

Yet, top military men in Saigon report that the official American position is that there will be no large-scale drive against the Cambodian sanctuary.

When attacked from the Cambodian side, U.S. commanders have authority to call for air strikes or artillery against the enemy to ensure the security of U.S. troops. But retaliation on the ground rarely exceeds pushing more than 250 yards into Cambodia, for fear of being drawn into ambush in the heavily jungled mountain regions.

The official U.S. view in Saigon is that, although Cambodia is giving aid to the Communists; it is not in America's interest to push any farther into Cambodia—thus forc-



ing Prince Sihanouk into openly helping Hanoi and widening the war.

# LEASING OR OPERATION OF INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL FACILITIES BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE BROUGHT UNDER THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX

(Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to bring under the Federal income tax profits derived by local governmental authorities or agencies from the leasing or operation of industrial or commercial facilities when the facilities are leased or operated for profitmaking purposes as distinguished from governmental purposes.

In general, the Federal income tax has not been imposed upon the profits made by State or local governmental units, or by any so-called authority or agency of those units. This has been true because heretofore, so far as I am aware, the facilities which these units operate have been confined to those which local government authorities believe should be constructed, owned, or operated by public bodies and which would not be adequately provided or operated by private industry. The public interest in government rather than private operation has justified the exemption from Federal income tax.

Recently, however, we have begun to witness attempts by local quasi-governmental units to take advantage of their Federal income tax exemption to construct and operate facilities which go far beyond any reasonable public need and convenience and which are already fully and adequately provided by private industry.

I refer particularly to the plans announced by the Port of New York Authority to construct and operate a World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan in New York City. The World Trade Center in New York is a most commendable project, but the Port of New York Authority has announced that it will be built to include twin 110-story towers that would be the largest office structures in the world, containing more than 10 million square feet of space. These structures, I am informed, would contain at least 4 million square feet of office space for private occupancy that is totally unnecessary to the operation of a World Trade Center. Office space for private occupancy is fully and adequately provided by private industry in New York City.

The purpose of this extra 4 million square feet of office space, I understand, is to provide profits for the Port of New York Authority to use in connection with other projects it carries on or contemplates. It is apparently intended that the authority will voluntarily pay amounts to the city of New York to equal real estate taxes on the value of this additional space, which would not be the case in New York if this extra space were considered an appropriate governmental facility or operation.

Mr. Speaker, I see no reason why a local authority should not pay Federal income taxes on its profitmaking ventures which compete directly with facilities properly and adequately maintained by private industry and for which governmental construction or operation is unnecessary. Unless the misuse of the Federal income tax exemption is stopped, there will be no limit to the extent to which local authorities or agencies engage in profitmaking ventures in unfair competition with heavily taxed private industry. The bill which I have today introduced would eliminate this improper advantage and produce the appropriate revenue for the Federal Government.

I should like to stress that my bill would in no way curb public officials or their constituents in deciding what local governments should do for their communities, if it is determined that a government project would help fill true community needs. But projects conducted only to make profits for government do not deserve exemption. To permit this will do harm to the Federal tax structure, to private industry and in the long run, I believe, to local governmental revenues as well.

# HORTON BILL EASES DISABILITY REQUIREMENT FOR VETERAN POST-EXCHANGE PRIVILEGES

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last fall I received a letter from a constituent seeking my assistance which has led me to introduce a bill designed to meet his problem and others in similar circumstances.

This person is a World War I veteran with a service-connected disability rated at 60 percent. He asked if I could assist him in obtaining a certification from the Veterans' Administration that would allow him to purchase articles at a post exchange.

I was informed by the VA that military regulations do provide that purchasing privileges at PX's, and at commissary stores as well, may be extended to veterans, but only if they are totally disabled from service-connected causes or if they are hospitalized by the VA. The bill I have introduced would allow a veteran with a service-connected disability rated at 50 percent or more to obtain purchasing privileges at military PX's and commissaries including naval ships' services.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a great deal to ask in the name of these veterans. It would have no significant impact upon either the retail economy or the post-exchange stores.

The military regulations governing the purchasing privileges of totally disabled or hospitalized veterans have been liberalized significantly over the years. At one time the veteran could exercise the privilege. A change was made to allow him to appoint someone else, usually his wife, to exercise the privilege for him. This change made good sense in view of the limitations on the ability of these veterans to actually get to a PX or com-

missary. The regulations were also amended last November by eliminating a requirement that a totally disabled veteran must also be receiving medical treatment from the VA in order to obtain the purchasing privileges. I look on my bill as another worthwhile liberalization to the rules governing these privileges, no more drastic than the changes that have been made in the past.

I would also like to take this opportunity to cite the importance, generally, of the post exchange and commissaries on our military installations. There has been considerable talk of closing some or all of these facilities, and I wish to state my opposition to this trend. It is well known that PX privileges add materially to the real income and purchasing power of active duty personnel, retired servicemen and disabled veterans. There is no group to whom this Nation owes more gratitude, and certainly, there should be no "economizing" on the services we have promised to these military families.

It is my hope that the introduction of this measure will be looked upon not only as a liberalization of disability requirements for PX privileges, but as a general vote in favor of honoring and expanding our commitments to these men and their families.

# ADULT EDUCATION ACT OF 1966

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we in this Chamber may take rightful pride in legislation we have approved in recent years to assist our Nation's education programs. Federal legislation to date, however, in support of adult education has been restricted to the elementary level. I believe the time has now come for us to enact legislation to assist those who have an inadequate education and are, therefore, denied equal employment opportunities.

For this reason I am today introducing the Adult Education Act of 1966 which would allow adults to meet the accepted standards of formal education which they have missed. It would offer other adults the opportunity to participate in "supplemental adult education" regardless of the levels they have attained through formal education. "Supplemental adult education" is defined as "a program of instruction and services for adults designed to enable them to overcome English language limitations, to improve their basic education in preparation for occupational training and more profitable attainment, or to become more productive and responsible citizens through citizenship training, parent education, and consumer education."

A look at some statistics reveals the extent to which the lack of higher education by many of our citizens is closely intertwined with unemployment, job instability, and myriad other problems. Between 1953 and 1963, jobs filled by high school graduates rose 30 percent, while jobs for those with only elementary education decreased by 25 percent. A 1963 report of the Office of Education shows that persons 18 years and older who have

to ask yourselves: if you were President, what would you do?"

One can be sympathetic with the President's plight. The problems he encounters both at home and abroad are staggering in number and magnitude. They defy easy, simplistic solutions. Nevertheless, many of the made creations of this administration. Others could have been by-passed as having low priority in essentiality.

#### CONFUSION, UNCERTAINTY

It seems to this observer that our war policies lack insight, skillful direction and total purpose. There can be no criticism either of our men in the field or of the military command. They have performed magnificently under the most trying conditions. The nation can be proud of their dedication and courage.

The changing emphasis from Washington produces confusion and uncertainty at home. First, it was said that the U.S. is in Vietnam by invitation of the government. Next, we were told that we must resist aggression everywhere. Quite an undertaking, that.

A third explanation suggests that the United States is acting in its national interest which, according to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey includes the "containment without isolation" of Red China.

And now it appears that Washington welcomes "free elections" in Vietnam which, if held, could result in our being asked to leave the country.

But not I assure you, before the departure is conditioned on promises of vast assistance and the financing of an Asian Great Society.

So the question; "What would you do" flows from such an intricate and complex background of gradual and unnecessary step-by-step involvement that it must be answered by the architects of these policies.

In fact, this means that only the President can decide. The voices of protest against the insanity of Vietnam have gone unheeded through the years. No one would listen.

Mr. Johnson, though an inheritor of the Vietnam mess, has undertaken to enlarge the conflict while talking of his hopes for peace.

He bears the responsibility. He must therefore answer his own question and provide direction for the future.

#### HIS GREAT CONCERN

On the home front, the President's great concern is, as he expressed it, "The crucial domestic issue of the day—the maintenance of our unparalleled prosperity with economic stability."

This was the question he posed to his labor-management panel. It is good that the President is seeking such advice. He could have used some earlier counsel on Vietnam or even urged that our involvement be debated by the Senate at a time when the truth was being concealed.

Nevertheless, only a confirmed optimist would believe that a 21-member group from labor and management could agree on anything more than the dangers of inflation and resolutions deploring it.

#### WHO IS THE SPEAKER?

The labor people are unhappy with government guidelines on pay increases and have generally ignored them. Business and industry see no merit in tax hikes but think government should reduce spending.

Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's council of economic advisers, points his academic finger at the highest corporate profits in history and asks: "Does anyone imagine that labor will continue to show moderation in its wage demands \* \* \*?" Though it is beside the point, one may well ask "What moderation?"

Other than an admonition that the im-

pact of future price increases must be carefully evaluated. Mr. Ackley offered no suggestions on how business can slow down its own profitability. Nor did he explain that reduced corporate earnings would adversely affect the government's tax revenues—all needed to pay for the unending proliferation of federal projects.

As the New York Times reported, "Until Mr. Ackley's address, the administration, departing considerably from its democratic predecessors, had taken nothing but pride and pleasure in the high level of profits."

So who speaks for the government? Mr. Johnson, who wants a continuation of our "unparalleled prosperity," or his economic adviser who worries because business is doing too well?

#### THREE GOOD STEPS

Since everyone—business, labor, government and consumers—agree that inflation is the domestic enemy we face, it is again the President's responsibility to propose a program which will cool off, but not chill our over-heated economy. The problem is how to dampen the fire without putting it out.

To a non-economist, several procedures seem to be in order:

1—Curb government spending and particularly in non-essential areas.

2—Convince the honorable members of Congress that they are poorly serving the country's interest by voting higher appropriations than requested by the President. Mr. Ackley has noted that congressional actions now being taken may increase appropriations by "close to \$3 billion" above Mr. Johnson's recommendations.

3—Impose a "temporary" \$5 billion tax increase and earmark these additional funds for debt reduction rather than operating expenses.

These three steps, if taken in unison, would alleviate the problem and avoid the necessity for stronger measures such as rigid wage and price controls at a later date.

#### THERE'S NO CHOICE

The President's plea for voluntary cooperation in correcting the imbalance of international payments is sound. His recommendations for holding down future capital expenditures in plant and factory is not as impressive. A growing economy needs expansion in manufacturing to provide additional employment and to serve new markets, both at home and abroad.

Mr. Johnson's "wait and see" approach to inflation can permit conditions to get out of hand. As Hobart Rowen of the Washington Post has said: "The pressures of war and boom will not disappear by themselves."

Business won't like tax increases. Labor generally opposes the idea because their leaders sense that any hike will go across the board and hit their members as well as the corporations.

Still, a President has no choice in these hectic times but to take affirmative action designed to protect the dollar lest its dilution in value rob the savings and pension accounts of this country.

#### AN UNWORTHY QUESTION

The question "What would you do?" is unworthy of a man elected to lead the country through the trials and tribulations of war and attendant domestic upheavals.

A President is supposed to lead, not seek government by consensus.

The hour is here when he should forget about politics and popularity and provide the guidance for the nation which is so sorely needed.

It is all very well to seek competent advice and ask others "to think in my shoes."

But inevitably, the President must show the way.

## Political Freedom for Vietnam Begins in Saigon

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently I called for full support by the U.S. Government of elections in Vietnam. I believe that political freedom for Vietnam begins in Saigon, and I would like to include in the RECORD a column by Joseph Kraft in a recent Washington Post article which arrives at the same conclusion:

INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS—IV

(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's return to the United States is happily timed. For the central theme of his consultations will have to be the coming elections in Vietnam. And on that score Washington has a huge contribution to make to American thinking here in Saigon.

Without outside help, indeed, the American mission here is almost incompetent to frame a broad approach to the elections. For one thing, the mission is preoccupied with the day-to-day, not to say minute-to-minute, business of supporting the war effort.

The emphasis is on moving goods and people, arranging appointments, making telephone calls and other tedious administrative tasks. That emphasis leaves little, if any, scope for thinking big. In consequence, the American mission here has yet to develop a coherent program for dealing with the elections and their predictable problems.

Precisely because the mission is so much geared to doing business, it tends to favor people in power who can get the job done. That is how such diverse figures as the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, former Premier Nguyen Khanh, and, now, Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky all acquired virtually unconditional American support.

By the same token, the focus on getting things done puts a discount on uncertainty. But a free election is uncertainty writ large—a leap in the dark. It is thus precisely the kind of thing the American mission in Saigon does not like to think about.

Already the unease of the mission here in the presence of an election prospect has yielded two exceedingly damaging impressions.

And in large measure, Washington's work during the consultations with Ambassador Lodge should develop a means for dissipating these bad impressions.

First, there is rightly or wrongly, a widespread impression among both Americans and Vietnamese in Saigon that the United States is opposed to free elections. This feeling at this time is exceedingly dangerous. For insofar as they believe that the United States has misgivings about elections, by so much the Vietnamese military leaders in office will be tempted to stage a coup or phony coup designed to head off the elections.

There is also a widespread impression that if the United States does accept elections, it is only in order to provide a fig-leaf of legitimacy to the present military regime.

This impression is reinforced by rumors of covert American efforts to set up some political notable from Saigon or the delta region as a front for the present military leaders. It is further reinforced by rumors of American efforts to line up a majority of refugee Catholics, nationalist parties and members of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects to support the government against the Buddhist militants under Bonze Tich Tri Quang.

The mere prevalence of these rumors, whether they are true or not, works against the American interest. For the rumors lend color to the suspicion that the United States is not in favor of a free choice in South Vietnam, that, instead, the United States only wants a regime that will continue to sponsor the war.

Even if the schemes attributed to the Americans here could be brought off, they could not yield lasting results. For the present government plus a politicalized front would fence out not only the Buddhists but the whole central region of South Vietnam. And the center, which has been the source of the present trouble, would react by making even more trouble.

The true American interest, in fact, lies in the one thing the American mission here finds it most difficult to contemplate. It lies in making a leap in the dark—in fostering a process that will give free play to local political forces. And the starting point for that process can be the coming elections.

But that means unrugged elections.

It means elections which hold out the possibility of a passage of power to a new government based on an alliance of the moderate Catholics of the South and the militant Buddhists of the Center.

It means elections from which there could at least develop a meaningful political opposition.

The consultations with Ambassador Lodge can be a success only if they advance the prospect for honest elections, only if they make clear beyond any doubt the American commitment to free choice in South Vietnam.

## Imagination Is Paying Off in Federal Education Funds—To Georgia School Systems

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution, April 24, 1966:

#### IMAGINATION IS PAYING OFF IN FEDERAL EDUCATION FUNDS—To GEORGIA SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(By Remer Tyson)

WASHINGTON, April 23.—The "dynamite" in the latest federal aid to education package is beginning to explode in new plans and ideas across Georgia.

A few years ago, some of the ideas would have come under attack as unwarranted frills or as conspiracies to consolidate county school systems.

Rural areas are competing hardest for U.S. funds to improve their schools and to involve community participation in the educational process.

Eight projects in Georgia crammed with imagination, have been approved for financing under Title III of the 1965 Elementary

and Secondary Education Act. Approval is pending on others.

All but one of the projects call for multi-county participation. That lone exception, ironically, is in Atlanta.

Title III of the education act provides funds for projects considered innovative and creative for a local school system.

This does not mean a system must embark on an idea "new under the sun." Federal officials judge whether a proposal is innovative for a specific system.

As an example, six central Georgia counties will develop rudimentary plans for school and community fine arts.

This is new for that section, but not for the Atlanta area.

Other Georgia projects include a Southeastern demonstration center to improve education for rural students, a pilot reading program, an honors program for an entire congressional district, a learning resources center for another district, an intensive learning center, a supplementary science center unlike any other in the state and an exceptional training program for teachers.

Dave Young, Southeastern representative for Title III, said, "all of a sudden Georgia is becoming aware of the cultural assets that can be applied to these projects. This is what we want."

"Title III is the dynamite to this thing. It is making the man in the street aware of the educational process. They are wondering where these things are coming from, and why they haven't had them before. Of all the educational programs, Title III is giving the greatest thrust in education."

The Johnson administration has taken notice of the program's nationwide popularity by asking Congress to increase next year's appropriation from \$75 million to \$145 million.

Title III is not the big money section of the 1965 federal aid to education act. However, it is anticipated that funds provided under the section will lead to ideas that can be financed over a long term by a combination of other federal and local money.

Georgia's allocation under Title III this year is \$1,663,178. School systems within the state must compete for U.S. Office of Education approval of projects.

Many rural counties are pooling their assets in effort to offset larger resources in urban areas.

Besides the eight approved projects, seven others from Georgia are being negotiated with federal officials.

Young said one of the best aspects of Georgia's participation in the federal program is that projects have good geographical dispersion. Although the eight projects are approved, no specific amount of funds have been allocated to them. However, if funds requested in the application had not been considered reasonable by federal officials, the projects would not have gained approval.

A supplementary education center to be established in Oconee County near the University of Georgia hopefully will develop a model educational program for rural areas in the Southeast.

The center will involve more than 1,100 students and 60 school personnel from Oconee and Oglethorpe Counties.

Proposed expenditure for the project is \$615,518, with the federal share \$249,594.

The program calls for adding an introductory grade for 5-year-olds (or a kindergarten), hiring a "supportive" teacher for every two classroom instructors, employing classroom aides to relieve teachers of non-teaching chores, focus instruction on reading development, art appreciation, and learning stimulation. Library services will be strengthened.

Six Middle Georgia systems—Dodge, Wilcox, Cochran, Telfair, Bleckley and Wheeler—have requested \$30,551.02 to finance a \$33,-

721.02 study of how fine arts can be brought into the schools and "how the school program can serve as a stimulus to and as a leader of general cultural improvement" for all the communities.

Ten other counties will establish a pilot reading center in Washington County. The request is for \$67,000 in federal funds.

The counties want to find out how many "disabled readers" are in their schools, how to correct deficiencies and to serve as a model for organizing other such centers.

Coffee County Board of Education at Douglas submitted an application on behalf of the 25-county 8th District to develop a project similar to the two-year-old governor's honors program, which takes talented high school students to college campuses for specialized study during the summer.

The application says the 8th District proposes to bring in talented instructors from "outside the region to give a more cosmopolitan climate to the region," which is largely farm and timber country in southeast Georgia.

Marion County Board of Education at Buena Vista submitted a 3rd District application for \$40,013 to establish a learning resources center.

Educators in the district propose to assess educational and cultural resources, then, determine priority needs and strive to meet them.

Glynn County Board of Education asked for \$44,955 in federal funds to plan an intensive learning center for the Brunswick area.

Purpose of the center would be to correct student educational handicaps through intensive studies and to improve techniques and skills for teachers.

Most innovative of all projects is the Fernbank Science Center to be established in De Kalb County. The county board of education is seeking less than \$200,000 to get the program started, but expects the cost in federal and local funds to rise to \$648,063 in 1968.

Construction in 1966 is to begin on a building for a planetarium, observatory and natural history museum on the 50-acre site of virtually virgin forest in the middle of metropolitan Atlanta.

The board said \$300,000 in local funds already are available for the initial construction. A science library and museum for zoology, paleontology, entomology, geology, and botany are scheduled for 1967 and 1968.

The De Kalb application says this first science center of its kind in Georgia would "help bridge man's gap between his automated world of technology and his natural world."

Atlanta's school system will establish a center to improve teacher training, especially for newcomers to the system.

Crux of the program would be to make new teachers aware of resources available to schools in the Atlanta area—"to make the community their classroom"—and to continue the learning process for teachers with undergraduate degrees until they can begin study for higher degrees.

Proposed cost of the teacher program through 1968 would be \$1,429,321, with Atlanta providing \$591,166 of the total.

But Mr. Culpepper said he had been expecting the problem and "we're adaptable to change. We want to do all we can to help our children."

Paulding County Supt. J. C. Scoggins said the schools there do not meet the size requirements at this time, but will by next fall because the three high schools will be consolidated into one with a combined enrollment of about 800.

Lee County Supt. Robert Clay said neither of the two high schools there have 300 students, but the system does have 12 teachers in each one by providing some local money to pay the extra ones. "We've always employed additional teachers over the state al-



immigration. The State of Israel has no such restrictions. First of all they emptied the concentration camps. They took the poor, the blind, the maimed, the broken in spirit, the homeless. They took those who had been tortured and beaten by the "brave" legions of the Third Reich and brought them to Israel to begin a new life.

They opened their arms to empty the ghettos of North Africa when rising Arab nationalism forced the people to flee. They welcomed those who were expelled by Nasser, the Egyptian dictator. Their doors are open to people leaving Eastern Europe.

No, there are no limitations! All that is required in Israel is the desire to live in freedom, to work productively, and thus to build a new life. But this kind of immigration requires great sacrifice and costs much money. The people living in Israel, particularly in the early days (and that was not too long ago) eagerly and willingly shared their homes, their land, their meager rations, their inadequate water supply, with these newcomers. The Government of Israel and the labor movement were taxed and hard-pressed to train masses of unskilled people, to provide jobs, to build new communities—civilized, democratic communities with schools, with houses of worship, with theaters. These people had to, in many cases, learn a new language—and thus Hebrew—the language of the Bible—has been revived and vitalized in the modern period. This too was no small accomplishment. In the days of Moses they didn't need a word for airplane, for jet, for railroad, for space ship, for nuclear energy, for electricity, for automobile, for all of the accessories of modern living and all the concepts of modern life that we take for granted.

What an inspiring drama of rehabilitation, of reconstruction, of rebirth and renewal has taken place in this ancient land. We are proud to have a small role in this wonderful saga of a new nation in an ancient land.

Much progress has taken place in Israel under the impact of investment capital derived from the purchase of Israel Bonds. I am told industrial production has soared from a total value of \$372,000,000 in 1950 to more than two billion dollars in 1965. Israel's labor force has increased in that period from 427,000 to over 900,000 with some 220,000 employed in industry.

Israel is planning to absorb a half-million new citizens in the next five years. It has set for itself a tremendous industrialization program to accommodate this anticipated growth in population and to build up its economy. I understand this will involve the creation of new industries in large urban centers and the establishment of new production facilities in regions that are now only sparsely settled. To achieve these objectives, Israel will need more investment capital than ever before. We of labor must do our part in helping Israel achieve this objective.

The American labor movement joins Israel in this endeavor enthusiastically not only because trade unionists are anxious to advance the welfare of the people of Israel but also because we have an obligation to strengthen the link between the labor movements of our two nations. As you know, a dynamic role in the development of the democratic State of Israel has been played by Histadrut. This is the federation of workers and pioneers in Israel.

The cause of human brotherhood spans the continents and we must be ever mindful of our fraternal ties with free unions throughout the world. Histadrut, which has performed a vital function in the survival of Israel, is among those free unions of the world with which we must cement our ties of solidarity and friendship. We do this when we help insure Israel's growth and expansion through the purchase of investment bonds.

We do this with pride and vitality, because there is a proud and vital relationship between American labor and Israel. The warm bond of friendship—which is so evident in the Bond program and the labor movement has become increasingly strong over the years—and for good reason.

Organized labor in this country is sincerely and deeply interested in promoting democracy and the democratic trade union movement. In turn, Israel has felt a close relationship with American workers because of the significant role that the labor movement of Israel has played—and continues to play—in the affairs of the State of Israel. So it is only natural that this bond of fellowship has been built up between the labor movements of Israel and the United States. In addition, the labor movement of Israel and the State of Israel itself are firmly committed to the cause of freedom.

There are as well some practical business reasons for what we are doing tonight. Israel sells to the United States some 80 million dollars worth of goods. These consist of oranges, wines, industrial diamonds, raincoats, souvenir items, etc. Israel buys from the United States some 200 million dollars worth of goods. In the main these are heavy industrial products such as tractors, road-building equipment, machinery, etc. And as you know, to buy these goods in this country Israel must come up with dollars. Some of those dollars you are helping to provide tonight. As an added plus, Israel is paying back to American investors in 1966, 61 million dollars. This is what purchasers of Israel Bonds that mature this year will receive. They are making an important contribution to our balance of payments problem.

I believe that it is especially significant during these times that the national AFL-GIO is sponsoring a labor institute in Israel to train young labor leaders from Africa and Asia. This institute has been of tremendous service in advancing the principles of democracy and free labor and in countering the activities of Communist countries in Asia and Africa. The labor leaders of Israel have a special message to impart to the young labor leaders from Asia and Africa because Israel's leaders have gone through the pains and pangs of development that the Asian and African leaders are now going through. You may wonder why the youthful leaders of those nations attend this institute in Israel. The answer is a very interesting one; they like to participate because Israel is a small country, and they prefer a small country because they fear domination by large countries. So this fear is solved by the presence of the institute in tiny Israel. Because of the success of this institute, Israel has become a very important bridge between the United States and the developing nations.

So there is this mutual recognition of the importance of a free trade union movement to the development of a free country that has helped draw American labor and Israeli labor closer together.

The United Steelworkers and the Labor Movement here are interested in freedom in our country and throughout the world. A strong and effective labor movement is a constructive force directed toward the good, not only of its members, but also toward the good of a country as a whole. Because it knows the value of freedom, organized labor is an effective spokesman and fighter for freedom.

It is no accident that the first targets of dictators always include trade unions. Trade unions have the habit of defending freedom of all segments of a society and of speaking out against exploitation and oppression. This kind of luxury cannot be tolerated by dictators, so—as Hitler did—they seek the crippling or destruction of labor unions.

So, any place that we, as American trade unionists, can give a boost to freedom and

to free labor, we should do so without any hesitation. This is why American labor has supported the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. And this is why it has been so willing to come to the aid of the State of Israel.

There is another similarity between the labor movements of the United States and Israel which is inherent in all these points which I have been discussing. It is something I am proud to convey to you: The American Trade Union Movement is interested in much more than another nickel or two in the pay envelope. This has been amply demonstrated by our record from the very beginning of the labor movement in this country. You all know that the first legislative objective of labor was a free public school education for every American child. And so it has been down through the years. We have been concerned about raising the living standards of all our citizens through adequate minimum wage laws—the care of the aged through Medicare—the education of our children through adequate Federal and State support of schools—and so on down the list of many pieces of social legislation designed for the common good.

This kind of concern for the common good has also been a proud feature of the labor federation in Israel. So, when you add it all up, you might say that American workers and the workers of Israel are brothers, not only in the cause of trade unionism, but in the cause of human decency everywhere.

I am deeply proud that the leaders of the Israel Bond program have selected me as the recipient of honors. Frankly, I have agreed to this recognition only because of my belief in the need for increasingly strong ties between American labor and Israel, and of course in American labor's continued support of Israel.

I am very grateful for the singleness of purpose so impressively displayed at the dinner—a Cabinet Member from our Federal Government—Israel's Minister of Labor—and Walter Reuther, a leading officer of the American labor movement.

It pleases me immensely to be the instrument of solidarity in the labor movement on this occasion, because as of this very moment 26 international unions sent their key officers to the dinner. They represent such diverse groups as the Building and Construction Trades Department, Building Service Employees, Bricklayers, Iron Workers, Machinists, Auto Workers, Operating Engineers, Furniture Workers, Communications Workers, Rubber Workers, Potters, Ship Builders, Glass Bottle Workers and others. We have a cross section of the labor movement, from the building trades crafts to the large industrial unions in the basic industries, in a united demonstration of labor's widespread support of Israel.

I anticipated this evening with intense pride—not for personal reasons—but simply because it will uphold to all eyes the spirit of oneness and "helpmanship" which is the foundation of the relationship between American labor and the State of Israel.

## Ky Talks Too Much

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. LESTER L. WOLFF**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I criticized Premier Ky of South Vietnam for intemperate statements, which he has since repeated.

Congressman JOHN C. CULVER, who arrived late at the banquet (after Mayor Johnson had left) said the Cardinal's visit to this country was significant to freedom throughout the world.

"His presence here tonight is a testimony to his faith and courage," CULVER said. He presented the Cardinal with the book "John F. Kennedy, As We Remember Him," autographed by the late President's two brothers, ROBERT and TED KENNEDY.

#### KENNEDY HELPED BERAN

President Kennedy was instrumental in assisting in Cardinal Beran's release from Communist Czechoslovakia. He also received a personal letter from Sen. ROBERT KENNEDY thanking him for visiting the late President's grave in Arlington cemetery.

"I just arrived from Washington, but I wasn't welcomed at the airport by the mayor," CULVER joked. Mayor Johnson announced Thursday he would oppose CULVER for the Second district congressional seat.

The Cardinal's human simplicity overwhelmed one member of the Mt. Mercy chorus, which sang several religious selections. His blessing and handshake brought tears to her eyes.

#### SYMBOL OF LOVE

Dubuque Archbishop James J. Byrne introduced the prelate as a "symbol of love to church and country. He radiates that same warm feeling generated by Pope John," the archbishop said.

"Since he stepped off the plane at Cedar Rapids," the archbishop continued, "he has captivated the hearts of those who came in contact with him. Cedar Rapids has shown in many ways the joy of his coming."

Speaking through his interpreter, Cardinal Beran expressed his gratefulness for the reception he has received here. He said he had received greetings from persons of all faiths.

Members of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic faiths joined in honoring the Cardinal. The Rev. Francis W. Pritchard of First Presbyterian church gave the invocation. Rabbi Isaac Neuman of Temple Judah delivered the benediction.

#### WOULD LIKE TO RETURN

Other headtable dignitaries included Bishop George Biskup, head of the Des Moines Diocese, and a native of Cedar Rapids; The Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Anthony W. Chihak of St. Wenceslaus and Maurice S. Sheehy of St. Pius; and Harold Wendorf, vice-president of the Cedar Rapids Chamber of Commerce.

The Cardinal is staying at Mt. Mercy during his visit. At his Thursday afternoon press conference, he said he would like to return to his homeland some day, but expressed doubt he would.

When exiled by the communist government in Czechoslovakia, it was made clear that he would not be allowed to return. He now makes his home in Rome.

The Cardinal told newsmen that while his actual movement in Czechoslovakia was limited and his connection with the outside church small, he managed to watch on television the funeral of Pope John and elevation of Pope Paul.

#### SENSES FREEDOM

Gesturing frequently, he told how he sensed the freedom of the people in the United States.

"The people here are more joyful than those in the homeland."

Asked how much influence a religious leader should have on the world, he replied: "The influence is greatest the more he (the clergyman) follows what he preaches, sets example."

A reporter inquired if he had any relatives in this country. Smiling broadly, he said there are many Berans, all claiming to be relatives. "But I have no proof." He said he welcomed them all as relatives anyway.

## President Should Use His Veto

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, once again General O'Brien and his troops have invaded Capitol Hill and successfully captured sufficient votes to place an additional burden of several million tax dollars on the American people, this time to pay for rent subsidies.

Where is the general and where are his troops when we try to reduce the inflationary spending in the Congress? Perhaps he is not receiving his mail at the Post Office Department, for mail deliveries are slower to patrons than the general's Cadillac trip to the Hill.

On May 4 in my remarks on the HEW appropriation bill, I suggested that the President veto bills that break the budget barrier. I am delighted that the editor of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner supported my views editorially. I ask permission to include that editorial with my remarks as follows:

#### PRESIDENT SHOULD USE HIS VETO

It is high time that President Johnson serve notice that he will use his constitutional power of the veto unless Congress exercises some self-discipline on non-defense spending.

Half-hearted admonitions won't do the job. The latest exercise in oratory took place this week at the convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington.

Gardner Ackley, the President's top economic advisor, reminded his businessman-audience that profits have been increasing much faster than the take-home pay of the workers.

He expressed fear that such a situation will lead to massive wage demands, and that the resulting wage-price spiral will undercut everybody's prosperity.

The government will be forced to dampen the speculative boom with a tax increase. Ackley indicated, unless business restrains its prices and profits.

Naturally, businessmen should not, in their own interest as well as the nation's, fall prey to an inflationary psychology and raise prices unnecessarily.

But the only way for industry to create new jobs is to expand production facilities—and the necessary investments can be paid for only out of profits. This is a point worth remembering by organized labor as well as by Washington.

Furthermore, even with the fullest co-operation, business and labor cannot hold the lid on inflation by themselves. The pressures for higher prices stem basically from increased federal spending in both defense and non-defense areas.

The federal government must tighten its own money faucet, and both Ackley and his boss in the White House have publicly recognized this fact.

Mr. Johnson complains that Congress is adding close to \$3 billion to his budget for the next fiscal year, and other officials say that the largesse of the lawmakers may force the administration into seeking a tax increase.

So far, however, the President has not remonstrated with Congress in the same forceful terms he has used on business. And there have been no signs that he is contemplating the use of his major weapon—

the veto, which would force congressional reconsideration.

The unfortunate fact is that, the way things are going, we will have both inflation and a tax increase. Higher taxes will not have a deflationary effect if the proceeds are merely used for more and more federal spending.

## Israel Bond Dinner Honors I. W. Abel

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the recent observance of the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence, I should like to call the attention of the House to an address by Mr. I. W. Abel, the distinguished president of the United Steelworkers of America, at the Israel bond labor tribute dinner on April 24. The unions and a number of steel companies honored Abel by purchasing Israel bonds, thereby demonstrating their approval of his interest in—and warm support of—Israel as a stronghold of democracy and social justice. More than a million dollars worth of bonds were sold in connection with this dinner.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include Mr. Abel's address at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY I. W. ABEL AT ISRAEL BOND DINNER, HILTON HOTEL, PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 24, 1966

It is good to share in the cause which is the principal beneficiary of this testimonial dinner. By our presence, we are renewing a friendly association of long standing between our organization and the State of Israel. This association has its beginning almost from the day that this tiny nation was founded some eighteen years ago.

As Steelworkers and as Americans we have always expressed a profound interest in the progress of developing countries which embrace the principles of democracy. We have been particularly concerned about the future of Israel which has given democracy such a strong foothold in a key area of the world. We have long realized that this new nation is vital to the cause of democracy, freedom and peace which our country, strives to promote.

In recognition of Israel's firm commitment to the cause of freedom and social progress, American labor unions have purchased in excess of \$16,000,000 in Israel Bonds down through the years. Our union has been among the major participants in this program in the past and we will undoubtedly continue to be a major supporter in the future. We welcome the opportunity to strengthen Israel through this means because we know it will help stimulate a healthy social and economic life in this outpost of freedom in the Middle East.

It is a fact that Israel's population has grown from 850,000 to 2,600,000 in the past 18 years. The bond aid, such as we of labor have advanced, has helped this small nation provide a life of hope and dignity to more than 1,300,000 immigrants from many lands.

What kind of people were these immigrants? You know that most countries have rather rigid qualifications as to health, skills, financial resources, and other limitations on



about the prospects for free elections in that troubled country. A recent editorial from the Long Island Press states the ramifications of Mr. Ky's ill-considered remarks very well, and I commend it to the reading of my colleagues:

**KY TALKS TOO MUCH**

As if the United States didn't have enough trouble with its enemies, we have to put up with our friends in Saigon.

No sooner did things quiet down after last month's feverish political agitation in South Viet Nam, did Premier Nguyen Cao Ky start stirring up things again with provocative statements that seem to serve no discernible purpose—other than to stir things up again.

Over the weekend Ky who once put his foot in his mouth by saying nice things about Hitler, said he expects to stay in power at least another year.

Although there were immediate rumbles in South Viet Nam about "betrayal," the first reaction on all sides was to minimize the premier's remarks. State Secretary Rusk said he saw nothing in Ky's statement to indicate any change in the election schedule. And a soft line was even taken by Thich Thien Minh, protege of the powerful Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang, principal figure behind the recent unrest that brought the Ky regime to pledge the elections in the first place.

The most dramatic attempt to take the heat out of Ky's statement was taken by the Vietnamese language papers in Saigon. They blotted it out. Everyone from Washington to Danang looks to the elections with mixed feelings of fear and hope. The fear is that they will only make worse the political muddle in Viet Nam. And the hope is that stable workable regime with real popular backing might just emerge out of them.

Those blank spots in the Saigon papers may have helped to "cool" things off. But the best way to "cool it" is for Premier Ky to put some blank spots where his mouth is.

**"Alexander von Humboldt: Geographer, Oceanographer, and Genius—One of the Great Explorers of All Time," by Circumnavigator-Explorer Wendell Phillips Dodge, Fellow, Royal Geographical Society**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the March-April 1966 issue of the Compass, a publication of the Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., of New York, publishes an article pertinent to the present step-up in carrying forth a continuing study of the science of oceanography by the U.S. Government. It is written by Comdr. Wendell Phillips Dodge, F.R.G.S., lifelong explorer - circumnavigator - ethnologist, who has made an extensive study of the ocean currents of the earth, entitled "Alexander von Humboldt: Geographer, Oceanographer and Genius—One of the Great Explorers of All Time."

A scientific explorer himself, Commander Dodge considers Alexander von Humboldt to be the greatest scientific

explorer the world has ever known. Unlike most explorers in history he, himself, financed his own extensive explorations. He influenced the course of Charles Darwin's life, throughout which this other great scientist regarded Von Humboldt as "the greatest scientific explorer who ever lived."

Commander Dodge, longtime member of the Explorers Club, New York, and for many years editor of its quarterly publication, the Explorers Journal, feels that hardly a handful of its membership even know who Alexander von Humboldt was, nor of his numerous contributions to scientific explorations. Who else then today may be expected to know about the man of whom a celebrated American journalist, in 1857, remarked:

I came to Berlin not to visit its museums, galleries or operas, but for the sake of seeing the world's greatest living man—Alexander von Humboldt.

This well-known journalist had shaken the hands of, and knew Goethe, Schiller, Frederick the Great, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Charles Darwin, Simon Bolivar, Napoleon Bonaparte, Beethoven—every great man, every famous scientist, every great artist, musician and author, statesman and ruler, in Europe and the Americas. Humboldt advanced the theory of geography mainly through insistence on the great principle of the unity of nature.

The article follows:

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT: GEOGRAPHER, OCEANOGRAPHER, AND GENIUS—ONE OF THE GREAT EXPLORERS OF ALL TIME

(By Circumnavigator-Explorer Wendell Phillips Dodge, fellow, Royal Geographical Society)

Most everyone has heard of the Peru or Humboldt Current. But few people know who discovered it, what it is and how it benefits mankind. This is its story and the story of the man who discovered it.

Few mariners knew much about the Eastern Pacific during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The Spaniards made sure of this by discouraging visitors and by keeping what they knew to themselves. As a result, charts were rudimentary and sailing directions nonexistent.

Plagued by a scientist's curiosity, Alexander von Humboldt spent five years in the area (1799-1804) trying to learn something about it. Using his personally devised methods, he literally dissected the ocean closely, keenly studying everything he found. From these studies he subsequently published a great deal of information regarding the territory in a "Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799-1804." In it he gives the details of one of his major discoveries, the current that now bears his name.

The Humboldt Current, as the narrative points out, is a branch of a trans-Pacific current known as the West Wind Drift (see chart) (not printed in the Record). This Drift, an eastward moving current pushed along by the prevailing Westerlies, is a cold one that extends from 40° S. to 60° S. latitude. As it nears the west coast of South America, a part of it bends northward forming the Humboldt Current. This flows (average speed 2 knots) all the way up the coastline to about 4° S. There it turns westward once again pushed along by the Southeast Trades to eventually lose its identity in the warm tropical waters of the equatorial region.

That unbelievable maelstrom, Cape Horn, must also have an effect on the Humboldt Current's formation. What this might be was to both Humboldt and succeeding gen-

erations of ocean scientists mainly a matter of conjecture. But the "Cape Horners", that rapidly diminishing group of mariners who weathered old Cape Horn in square sail, will tell you it must have some influence, for there is no place in the World where winds, currents and weather are so continually mixed up.

Humboldt found the West Wind Drift cold where it bends northward to form his current. Following it up along the coastline, he learned that upwellings from the deep keep it cold even as it moves into hotter climates. This continuously maintained coldness is responsible for producing one of the world's outstanding dry zones that he called a "Desert in the Sea." But it also has a most interesting effect on the land close by.

Ocean currents, he found, dominate the climate in the area. In the case of a cold one, it produces a very cool dry climate ashore. This is the case with the Humboldt Current from Valparaiso to Paita, Peru. Though dry ashore, low overcast and fogs frequently make it rather gloomy, and the coastal hills are enveloped in clouds much of the time. Beyond, however, it's clear and beautiful.

A cold current such as the Humboldt, kept cold by upwellings as it travels toward warmer climates, has an even more important function. It provides food. The upwellings bring unused sub-surface plant nutrients, such as phosphates and nitrates, toward the surface. This makes the near-surface area exceedingly rich in all kinds of sea life, a sort of "sea pasture", as Humboldt called it. He actually found this particular current houses one of the world's richest fishing grounds. Today, it's the primary reason why Peru is the largest sea-food and fish-meal producing country in the world.

He also discovered that where near-surface fish abound, the great sea birds flock. They fly over the water, dive, capture, eat and then dive again during every moment of their waking hours. Their droppings known as guano, are one of nature's richest fertilizers. Small off-shore islands and the near shoreline along the coastline were and still are coated with it. Historically, it has always been much in demand the world over, having appeared on the cargo manifests of innumerable squareriggers and steamships.

Humboldt also learned a great deal about the winds blowing seaward over his current. Cooled and dried as they pass over it, they wing their way westward to affect climate virtually to the Gilbert Islands. Recently, oceanographers found that these dry winds go even farther than Humboldt suspected. They have been found as far west as Nauru Island, located about 26 miles south of the equator in roughly 167° east longitude.

The Humboldt responsible for all we are talking about was Baron Friedrich Alexander von Humboldt, born in Berlin on September 14, 1769. His father, a major in the Prussian Army, came from a prominent Pomeranian family. For the elder von Humboldt's services during the Seven Years War, he received the post of Royal Chamberlain. After the war, 1766, he married Maria Elisabeth von Colomb, widow of Baron von Hollwede. They had two children, first Wilhelm, then Alexander.

Alexander's childhood was far from promising. His health was poor, and he showed little talent for school work. But he did begin to show some of the traits that later were to become so keenly developed. For example, he had a consuming interest for collecting and labeling plants, shells and insects. For this he received the playful title of "the little apothecary".

1789 he matriculated at Göttingen, a school famous at the time for the stimulating lectures of C. C. Heyne and J. F. Blumenbach. By now his vast and varied powers were fully developed. He amply demonstrated



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how fully during the following summer on a scientific expedition up the Rhine River. At its conclusion he issued a treatise, "Mineralogische Beobachtungen über einige Basalt am Rhein," published at Brunswick in 1790. The calibre of this work was so high it gained him an entree to the famous Weimar coterie.

Following a long and active period during which he traveled all over the world, he finally settled in France, growing to regard Paris as his home. There he found both the scientific sympathy and the sort of social stimulus his vigorous, healthy mind craved. He was equally in his element as the lion of the salmon and as the savant of both the institute and the observatory. He was, indeed, a great figure who was greeted by applause wherever he went. He loved France, adored Paris, so much that when he was summoned by the King to join the court in Berlin, he did so but with a deep and lasting regret.

The years 1830 to 1848 were monumental in Humboldt's life. For one thing he was frequently employed by his sovereign in diplomatic missions to Louis Philippe's court. This was a most welcomed assignment, since he always maintained the most cordial personal relations with the French monarch.

Between 1836 and 1839, though saddened by his brother's death, he turned out the first of two monumental works. This was a critical study of all historical sources dealing with the early voyages and discoveries of America. In it he referred to the development of nautical astronomy in the 15th and 16th centuries. In this work that has a most impressive title, "Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent et des Progres de l'Astronomie Nautique au 15 et 16 Siecles," he established the origin of the name America. "I believe to have earned a modest merit," wrote Humboldt, "by having proved that Amerigo Vespucci had no part in the naming of the New Continent, but that the name originated in a hidden spot in the Vosages Mountains. There a certain map-maker by the name of Martin Waldseemüller boldly put it on a map that illustrated Vespucci's wonderful voyage."

The second and, without doubt, his most important work of all was his "Cosmos." This he completed and had published by I. G. Cotta in 1847. Scientists and the general reading public soon made it a best seller, continuing to do so for many years afterwards. The demand was so great that Cotta, who also published Goethe's and Schiller's works, wrote: "In the history of book publishing, the demand is epoch-making. For a good time its sales began to rival those of the Bible, the world's best seller."

Humboldt's work impressed the curious and speculative minds of his age. Charles Darwin, for example, regarded him as "the greatest scientific explorer who ever lived." As a matter of fact, his 1799-1804 "Narrative of the American Travels" affected the entire course of Darwin's life. For in this work Humboldt clearly described the new animals he found in the South American area. These included the electric eel, alligator and monkey. His descriptions even included facts about their natural habitats. And with Guy-Lussac he made the initial studies regarding the respiration of fish. Imagine how this sort of information appeal to the mind destined to change so much through his "Origin of Species."

Actually, Alexander von Humboldt was the first modern geographer to become a great explorer. In his travels he acquired an extensive stock of first-hand information. But more important, he divorced his thinking

from traditional paths and pioneered new methods of collecting information. His methods were destined to have far-reaching effects. For example, he was the first to secure information by means of simultaneous observations at distant points. This took some doing, as communications were rudimentary in his time. He simply induced various nations to join him in his scientific efforts. They carefully kept records of natural phenomena, sending them on to Humboldt at regular intervals. These records enabled him to determine the nature and law of "natural storms" (a term he invented for abnormal disturbances of the Earth's magnetism). Here was the beginning of what in very recent years became the International Geophysical Year—IGY!

This is only one of numerous cases illustrating his scientific approach to solving almost any problem. He actually brought together all the facts or, as he called them, "observable beings" that eager collectors of the previous century had gathered. But he went a step further. He systematically cataloged them. And where there were gaps in the findings, he either searched for the answer with field expeditions on his own, or enlisted the assistance of other scientists in an attempt to fill them.

Today's scientists, equipped with gadgets Humboldt never dreamed of, are continually influenced by his findings. For he was the one to clearly demonstrate and document that land and sea formations influence climate, plant life, animal life, and man himself. The concept, mind you, was not a new one. It simply took a genius like Humboldt to illustrate it in a way most everyone would understand.

His superb scientific work rightfully classifies Alexander von Humboldt as the father of modern physical geography and meteorology. He introduced the isotherm (a line connecting points of equal temperature). It subsequently became the means of comparing climatic conditions of various countries. He was the first to investigate the drop in mean temperature as altitude increases. Through his inquiries into the origin of tropical storms, he found one of man's earliest clues to the laws governing atmospheric disturbances at higher altitudes. His essay on the geography of plants, based upon the then novel idea of examining the distribution of organic life, has affected subsequent thinking among botanists. His magnetic studies revealed the decrease in intensity of the Earth's magnetic forces as they approach the equator, giving rise to the term "variation," a factor every navigator compensates for in laying out a course. His barometric and astronomic observations were so keen, they formed the basis for charting Central and South America. And he introduced the now widely used method of drawing profiles to illustrate various geographic features.

His services to the science of geology were mainly based on his Andean work. He searchingly studied South America's volcanoes during his 1799-1804 work, finding that they fall into a sort of linear group. These were found to correspond with the subsequently discovered subterranean fissure that runs around the Earth from Pole to Pole. This is the fissure referred to by this author in "The Lost Continent of Mu" in The Compass for March-April 1962. It has caused much havoc in both Alaska and Chile recently. Perhaps the currently planned "Mohole" project will finally learn the reasons for these phenomena that Humboldt discovered over 150 years ago.

Toward the end of his long lifetime, Humboldt remarked, "It has been my fate to survive everybody, my family and kings. I have lived so long that I have almost lost the consciousness of time. I belong to the age of Jefferson, Madison, Galatin and Beethoven." The scientific world didn't think so when he died in Berlin May 6, 1859. It went into mourning for what one writer called "the greatest man since Aristotle."

Louis Agassiz summed up the scientific world's opinion of this great man in a few, but extremely well chosen, words. In 1860, when commemorating the centennial of Humboldt's birth, he said, "His mode of treating his subjects—emphatically his own—has led many specialists to underrate Humboldt's familiarity with different branches of science—as if knowledge could only be rendered in pedantic forms and set phraseology. To what degree we Americans are indebted to him, no one knows who is not familiar with the history of learning and education in the last century. All the fundamental facts of popular education in physical science, beyond the merest elementary instruction, we owe to him. The first geologic cross sections, the first sections across an entire continent, the first average climates illustrated by lines were his. Every schoolboy is familiar with his methods, but he does not know that Humboldt is his teacher. How few remember that the tidal lines, the present mode of registering magnetic phenomena and ocean currents are but applications of Humboldt's researches and of his graphic mode of recording them."

The world of letters also recognized his accomplishments. Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1869 had this to say: "Humboldt was one of those wonders of the world, like Aristotle, like Julius Caesar, like Admirable Crichton (James Crichton, a 16th century Scottish scholar), who appear from time to time, as if to show us the possibilities of the human mind, the force and range of the faculties—a universal man."

And around the world the places bearing his name are legion. What more fitting tribute a grateful mankind give in honoring a man who is still generally conceded to be one of the greatest scientists that ever lived.

Geographic features named in honor of ALEXANDER von HUMBOLDT are numerous.

They include:

HUMBOLDT CURRENT/off the Pacific Coast of South America  
HUMBOLDT MOUNTAINS, range of Nanshen system, China  
HUMBOLDT PEAK/Colorado  
HUMBOLDT RANGE/Nevada  
HUMBOLDT BAY/Northern New Guinea  
HUMBOLDT PEAK/Venezuela  
HUMBOLDT RESERVOIR/Nevada  
HUMBOLDT RIVER/Nevada  
HUMBOLDT SALT MARSH/Nevada  
HUMBOLDT GLACIER/Greenland  
HUMBOLDT BAY/California  
HUMBOLDT SINK/Nevada

HUMBOLDT STATE REDWOOD PARK/California  
HUMBOLDT/Saskatchewan, Canada  
HUMBOLDT/Illinois  
HUMBOLDT/Iowa  
HUMBOLDT/Kansas  
HUMBOLDT/Minnesota  
HUMBOLDT/Nebraska  
HUMBOLDT/South Dakota  
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/California  
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/Iowa  
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/Nevada  
HUMBOLDT/Tennessee